CATENA CLASSICORUM

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DEMOSTHENIS

ORATIONES PUBLICAE

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TO THE

REV. WILLIAM MANDELL GUNSON, M.A.

FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A MEMORIAL OF

A THIRTY YEARS' FRIENDSHIP.

b

PREFACE.

IN this speech I enjoy the good fortune of being able to avail myself of the critical labours of Mr Shilleto, who in dealing with the text has, I think, proceeded on the soundest principles and shown the nicest discrimination. In a few passages however I have, in the exercise of an independent judgment, ventured to desert him, assigning in each case my reasons for coming to a different conclusion. I am glad to find the reading adopted in § 103 supported by the high authority of Madvig, who in his recently published *Adversaria Critica*, p. 459, reads as I do, with the omission of δικαίως, quoting the same passages in support of his view.

I cordially agree with Mr Shilleto in his qualified admiration of MS. S, believing that our only hope of obtaining a perfect text of Demosthenes lies in a more cautious use of it than has been usual, in which we are now materially aided by the recently collated MS. Laur. S. Editors are untrue to the duties of their office when, in deference to the authority of any MSS. however good, they think it possible that such Greek could have been spoken by Demosthenes as is read, for instance, in § 103 by Bekker and Dindorf, in § 112 by Baiter and Sauppe, and in § 136 by Vömel; or when, for example, they omit ἄν with the potential optative or add it to

the future optative in obedience to some favourite MSS., and think to salve the violation of sense and grammar by referring us to Baeumlein's *Modi* or Aken's *Tempus und Modus.* It would not be difficult to construct a better text of the Orators than we yet possess, by steering a just mean between such superstitious reverence for MSS. authority, and the arbitrary license of the School of Leyden.

In writing my notes I have constantly had before me the Apparatus Criticus and the editions of Vömel and Mr Shilleto. I gladly acknowledge my obligations, especially to the last-named, which is an honour to English Scholarship. Following the example of Mr Sandys, I have added a few references to Goodwin's *Syntax of Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, which the student will find a useful companion to his Madvig.

St Bees,
January, 1872.

INTRODUCTION.

THE three years that elapsed between the conclusion of the Peace of Philocrates and the delivery of the Speech 'de falsa legatione' (B.C. 346—343) were years full of bitter disappointment and vexation to the Athenians. Not one of the promises held out to them had been fulfilled. Philip who, to judge by his letters and the assurances made in his name, was anxious for opportunities of giving them substantial proofs of his good will, had taken the side of their bitterest enemies. Thebes, instead of being humbled and forced to restore Oropus, had recovered her old supremacy in Boeotia and been enriched with a slice of Phocian territory (§ 141). Instead of receiving Eubœa in compensation for Amphipolis, they had the mortification of seeing two tyrants set up in positions that threatened Attica, Geraestus in danger, and the whole island likely to be utterly lost to them (§ 325). And there was much to suggest alarm in the situation. He whom they and their Orators affected to look upon as a 'barbarian' occupied the commanding position of champion of the Delphic God and avenger of the outrage done to Hellenic religious sentiment, and had suddenly become the leading member of the Amphictyonic Council, an honour they had been reluctantly forced to concede to him. He was in possession of Thermopylae, which gave him the command of the road to Attica and the Peloponnesus, while his conquests in Thrace threatened to

give him the control of the corn trade in which they were so deeply interested. Phocis, to the value of which they were now fully alive, was ruined; Thebes, through the open display of feeling into which they had been betrayed, was more bitterly hostile than ever; Thessaly reduced to a state of vassalage by its division into four tetrarchies and the occupation of Pherae with a garrison. Megara, through the intrigues of Ptaeodorus in concert with a body of mercenaries supplied by Philip, had nearly fallen into his hands; he had sent money and troops into the Peloponnese in aid of the people of Messene, and to Elis, where the Macedonian faction after a bloody struggle had gained the upper hand. Everywhere factions or individuals were conspiring to make themselves masters of their respective cities with his countenance and support; hardly anywhere was there a city able to maintain institutions that brought them into sympathy with Athens. Thus, while questions were arising between Philip and themselves which threatened to lead to hostilities, they were gradually being hemmed in, and in danger of going to war single-handed against the whole strength of the Amphictyons. It was natural under these circumstances that the ambassadors who had negotiated a peace which had led to consequences so disastrous should be the objects of no little indignation. Aeschines admits that when the news of the destruction of the Phocian cities reached Athens the envoys were in great discredit (3. 80). And though the first burst of anger had cooled down, the feeling had been kept alive by frequent attacks in the public debates, and direct charges of corruption and collusion with Philip (Dem. 5. 10; 6. 34). It may therefore seem strange that the prosecution of Aeschines on charges so grave should have been delayed so long. Several reasons may be assigned for this. The motives which induced Demosthenes to recommend the Athenians not to refuse to sanction the admission of Philip to the place among the Amphictyons previously possessed by the Phocians, still operated, and it may reasonably have been thought unadvisa-

ble to risk a quarrel where Athens would have to contend without allies against the overpowering forces Philip could now bring into the field. That this had been urged against such a step is clear from what is said in § 134. Again, Philip still continued to profess the utmost friendship, and to make promises that they should reap solid advantage from his alliance, adding complaints that they were too ready to listen to the orators who traduced him to them. These were enlarged upon by his friends, who urged with a strong show of reason that he could not be expected to be very zealous if attacks were continually made upon him and those who had advocated the friendly relations established between them (infr. § 187: Ps. D. 7. 33 sq.). As long as there was a general hope that these promises might be performed, we can easily understand that Demosthenes shrank from a step which might, even in the judgment of many who sympathised with him, lead to untoward consequences. Again, it was urged that the king had only been prevented from being as good as his word by the Thebans and Thessalians being too strong for him, and that if the people would only be patient they would see that all would be well; the restoration of the prisoners taken at Olynthus being an earnest of what might be expected. And we must remember that Demosthenes, though recent events had tended to raise him in the estimation of his countrymen and give them a high opinion of his sagacity, had not yet attained the position which the course of events soon gave him; and having been engaged in the negotiations, and having approved of the peace, he was hampered, till the questions that arose made his line clearly distinct, by the argument that he was only turning round and attacking those with whom he had cordially cooperated. These considerations may explain why Demosthenes took no means to hasten the prosecution till the state of things and the growing strength of his party made a direct attack upon a leading opponent worth while, and afforded a prospect of success.

Though Demosthenes throughout his speech constantly

includes the whole body of his colleagues in his charges of corruption, with the view doubtless of damaging their credit as witnesses for Aeschines, none of them seem to have been attacked but Philocrates. He had received from Philip, Demosthenes says (§ 145), large sums of money and grants of land in Phocis which brought him in a talent a year, and this wealth he ostentatiously displayed at Athens. The case against him was so strong that on being impeached by Hyperides he left Athens without standing his trial, and was condemned in his absence. When Hyperides brought his impeachment before the Assembly, Demosthenes, with whom he was no doubt acting in concert, rose and said there was only one thing he was dissatisfied with in it, and that was, that it was directed against Philocrates alone, when there were others equally criminal; and at the same time he called on his colleagues to come forward and declare their disapproval of the conduct of the accused. No one answered the call, and Demosthenes stood committed to follow up his words by a prosecution of Aeschines, who was clearly alluded to. If the case against Aeschines had been at all clear, no doubt he would have been proceeded against by impeachment (εἰσαγγελία), as Philocrates had been. But as matters stood, it was necessary to wait for his audit, when it was open to any citizen to come forward and prefer charges against him of misconduct in the discharge of his office. Under ordinary circumstances officials were required to appear before the Auditors (Λογισταί) within a month after going out of office. Clearly this was not the case with ambassadors, who, if the Logistae did not interfere and no one moved for a decree to bring them to account immediately, were practically left to their own discretion in the matter. And in this case Demosthenes was not likely to set the law in motion against his adversary, as it was equally advantageous, in the then state of parties, to make attacks in the Assembly and point suspicion at him; and Aeschines would hardly be disposed to court such an ordeal till the pressure of the situation and the necessity of meeting the attacks

and challenge thrown out forced him to give notice of his intention to pass his audit. He had protested against Demosthenes doing so on the ground that, the second embassy being a mere continuation of the first, it was unnecessary to appear again after having once obtained a legal discharge; but this had been overruled (§ 211). Two accusers appeared, Demosthenes and Timarchus. The latter had for some years been an active politician on the anti-Macedonian side, and had in the last year of the war distinguished himself by getting a decree passed forbidding the export of arms or stores on pain of death. But his profligacy was so notorious that when Aeschines turned upon him and brought him to trial for infamous practices he had no difficulty in procuring his disfranchisement. After some delay, with this *praejudicium* in his favour which Demosthenes seeks to obviate in §§ 2, 233, 241, 258, 285, but amid all the excitement of the negotiations for the amendment of the peace, his own trial came on.

The Speech 'de falsâ legatione' is a good specimen of a 'status conjecturalis,' i. e. a case where the question turns on the fact (*an sit?*) and is conjectural. In default of proof which he constantly seems on the point of producing but never does, Demosthenes labours by a skilful marshalling of his facts, by inferences from a variety of circumstances, and all the arts of rhetoric not to say of sophistry to make his σημεῖα appear τεκμήρια and bring home the charges to the accused. The speech falls into five parts or general heads; the *Proem* with the *propositio* or statement of the charges to be proved (§§ 1—8); the *narratio* (§§ 9—101); the *argumentatio* (§§102—177); the *occupatio* or refutation of the arguments that might be advanced by Aeschines, and had been advanced by others (§§ 178—256); and the *Epilogue* in which the general purport of the speech is again stated and enforced. Enjoyable as specimens of oratory, and interesting as the first round of the great duel which was fought out twelve years afterwards to the utter overthrow of Aeschines, this speech and the reply to it present very great difficulties when we try to

make out a consistent account of the events referred to. Our materials for forming a judgment are confined to these speeches, the two on the Crown, where the question is re-opened, and the speech of Aeschines on the trial of Timarchus. Not only do the orators contradict each other in the most direct manner, but Aeschines especially gives different accounts of some important points in all the three speeches. The one was of course anxious to clear himself as far as possible and implicate his rival in the transactions which were discredited: the other was hampered by having to defend himself as well as attack Aeschines. He had to clear himself from the suspicion of a connection with Philocrates whom he had notoriously supported in the measures which led to the peace; to reconcile his claims to political foresight with the plea that he was deceived by his colleagues; to explain how it was that he continued to act with them after he had ceased to believe that they were loyal to their country, and did not, though he had seen enough to be convinced that they had a traitorous understanding with Philip, disclose his suspicions till the mischief was past remedy.

The capture of the thirty Chalcidic towns followed by that of Olynthus in the early spring of B. C. 347 would have been sufficient of itself to cause great anxiety at Athens, as giving a great accession of power to Philip and threatening the security of the Chersonese and their cherished possessions Lemnos and Imbros. But the liveliest agitation and alarm were produced by the news that a large number of the citizen troops they had sent to the relief of Olynthus were in the hands of the enemy. It seemed as if the warning of Demosthenes was speedily to be fulfilled, who had told them that they must fight there or at home, and that if they allowed Olynthus to fall, there would be nothing to prevent Philip from marching against Attica and attacking them in their own country, (I. 25 sq.). The state of feeling was such that Eubulus was impelled to come forward and denounce Philip, and, taking up a suggestion of Demosthenes, urge that embassies should be sent

out to instigate the Greeks against the common enemy and invite them to a congress to be held at Athens to deliberate on the means of carrying on war with him. On this occasion Aeschines first came into notice as a politician. He distinguished himself by the vehemence of his language against Philip, and, introducing Ischander the son of Neoptolemus the actor to the Council and Assembly as having come from the philo-Athenian party in Arcadia with a favourable report, was on the motion of Eubulus sent on a mission to Megalopolis to rouse the Arcadians; other envoys being at the same time sent to other Greek cities. Probably Eubulus hoped that an alliance with Megalopolis, could it be secured, might lead to a rupture with Sparta and pave the way for a reconciliation with Thebes, which, as Demosthenes tells us (18. 162), was a capital part of the policy of Eubulus and his rival Aristophon, strongly approved of by Demosthenes himself. What his ulterior aims were we can only conjecture. It is likely enough, as Thirlwall thinks (5. 328), that he wished to detach Athens from the Phocian alliance, and hoped that if Thebes was secured in the hegemony of Boeotia she might be willing to adjust her quarrel with Phocis on fair conditions, which would deprive Philip of any pretext for interfering, and be disposed, as a bond of restored amity, to cede Oropus. And the revolution which took place in Phocis just at this time and led to the deposition of Phalaecus, held out the hope that the war might be terminated sooner and on easier terms than if the tyranny which was too deeply committed to it continued in power. The statement of Demosthenes (18. 19), that Philip was led to open negotiations with Athens because he feared the Thebans might be led to apply to her for help, though it cannot be accepted in the form in which he puts it, becomes not improbable. It supplies some explanation of the views with which Philip made overtures for peace, the known feelings of the two cities making it certain that Athens would do nothing to aggrandise her enemy if relieved from all fear for herself.

And public feeling at Athens was becoming favourable for negotiations. Even before the capture of Olynthus, in the summer of B. C. 348, the envoys of the Euboeans, who were trying to come to an arrangement with them, had intimated that Philip wished them to say that he would gladly conclude the war and be at peace with Athens (Aesch. 2. 13); and in the same year Ctesiphon, whom the people had sent as public envoy to assist Phrynon in recovering the ransom wrongfully, as he alleged, exacted of him as having been captured during the Olympic truce, returned with a glowing account of the generosity of the king and his kind feeling towards Athens. Upon this Philocrates proposed a decree which was passed unanimously, that Philip should be allowed to send a herald and envoys if he liked to treat for peace. And that this represeuted the real state of public opinion was shown by the triumphant acquittal of Philocrates, for whom Demosthenes appeared, when the decree was impeached as an illegal proposition. There had thus been created a disposition towards peace which received a further and most material impulse from the relations of the captured citizens who appeared in the assembly as suppliants, and entreated that some steps might be taken for their restoration (Aesch. 2. 15); their petition being actively supported, according to Aeschines, by Philocrates and Demosthenes. Accordingly indirect negotiations were opened through Aristodemus the actor, who on his return reported, what no doubt was confirmed by Iatrocles, afterwards one of the envoys, whom Philip had released without ransom, that the king's sentiments were most friendly, and that he wished not only to conclude peace with the city but an alliance. On the motion of Demosthenes, thanks and a wreath were voted to Aristodemus for his services. In the mean time Aeschines and the other envoys had returned, having met with a cold reception almost everywhere and bringing no promises of hearty cooperation. Aeschines indeed reported, according to Demosthenes (§ 305 sq.), that the Arcadians were delighted to hear Athens was be-

stirring herself, and endeavoured to rouse indignation by a narrative of the sad sights he had witnessed, inveighing in the bitterest terms against 'the blood-stained barbarian,' 'the common enemy of Hellas;' but the growing disinclination to continue the war, which had been a series of sacrifices without result and would be certain to entail further and serious losses, and the craving for peace, fostered by the efforts of the friends of the captives and the representations of those who had been to Philip, were now so strong that the only thing left was to conclude peace on the best terms they could. From the part Demosthenes had already taken it is clear that he thought the same. And just then other circumstances occurred which must have strengthened the cause of those who advocated peace. The Thebans and Thessalians in the name of the Delphic God called on Philip to take up arms in the cause of the Amphictyons: and just at this critical time they were prevented, by the counter-revolution which reinstated Phalaecus in power, from taking possession of the towns guarding the pass which the displaced government had offered to put into their hands, (§ 73). Should Phalaecus treat separately with Philip while they were at war with him, and thus allow him a passage into southern Hellas, their position would be one of imminent danger. Peace became more desirable than ever. Therefore about November B. C. 347 a decree was passed on the motion of Philocrates, that ten envoys from Athens with one from their allies should be sent to see on what terms the king would conclude peace. The envoys chosen were Aeschines, Demosthenes, Philocrates, Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Iatrocles, Dercylus, Cimon, Nausicles and Aristodemus the actor, with Aglaocreon of Tenedos as representative of the synod of the allies. Thus had the king by biding his time gained the great diplomatic triumph of seeing an Athenian embassy at Pella, the composition of which showed that even his most pronounced enemies were in favour of peace if it could be had on reasonable terms, while it contained four members, Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Iatrocles, and

Aristodemus, predisposed at least in favour of him, if not actually won over to his interest.

For reasons which will appear afterwards, Demosthenes hardly mentions the first embassy, of the transactions of which we have a somewhat meagre account from Aeschines. He relates with much complacency that Demosthenes broke down in an attempt to address Philip on the subject of Amphipolis, he himself making a speech in vindication of the Athenian claims to it so powerful, that the king in replying to the envoys addressed himself almost exclusively to the arguments he had used, and often mentioned him by name, which was, of course, gall and wormwood to his rival. From this we might be disposed to think that nothing passed between the envoys and the king except about Amphipolis. But we are incidentally told that they left Philip about to march into Thrace to attack Cersobleptes, without however entering any protest on behalf of that prince as an ally of Athens, the king only guaranteeing not to attack the Chersonese pending the negotiations. Not a word is said about Phocis, or the interests represented by Aglaocreon. The envoys returned about the beginning of March (Elaphebolion), bringing with them a letter in which the king expressed his desire for peace and alliance, and said 'he would have stated expressly what benefits he had in store for them if he had been sure of becoming their ally;' and this he offered to be on the basis of 'uti possidetis,' by which their claim to Amphipolis was quietly set aside, and he would be entitled to retain all conquests made in Thrace before the peace was ratified. Macedonian ambassadors were to follow to settle terms at Athens. The envoys made a report of their proceedings first to the Council and then to the Assembly, Demosthenes on both occasions proposing a vote of thanks to them, launching out in the Council into warm praises of his colleagues, and especially of Aeschines, who had not disappointed the expectations of those who had elected him envoy (Aesch. 2. 45 : Dem. 19. 234). This seems a sufficient proof that in what he tells us about the offensive and

unbearable conduct of Demosthenes to his colleagues, his malignant treachery and faithlessness, Aeschines was antedating his feelings, and that the relations between them at this time were much more cordial than he is disposed to admit. The Macedonian envoys, Antipater, Parmenio and Eurylochus, arrived soon after, and on the motion of Demosthenes, the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion were fixed for the special assemblies to discuss the question of peace and alliance with Philip.

Just at this time there were, it seems, assembled at Athens, deputies of the Athenian confederation who had been summoned for the occasion. After hearing the report of Aglaocreon they passed a resolution recommending to the people a certain course to be pursued. On this resolution both Orators lay considerable stress, and wish it to be believed that they supported it. This is very intelligible when we remember that the recommendation of the allies that the treaty should continue open for three months for the adhesion of the other Greeks, agreed with the second amendment of the terms of the peace just then proposed on the part of Athens (Ps. D. 7. 30). On mature consideration I think the resolution as it appears in the reply of Aeschines (see n. on § 15) is more than suspicious. In the first heat of the war fever after the fall of Olynthus, Aeschines and other envoys were, as we have seen, sent out to Arcadia and elsewhere to organize united opposition to the designs of Philip. At this time Aeschines had no thoughts of peace, and was only led, he tells us, to advise it because the Athenian overtures were everywhere received with indifference or positive hostility (Aesch. 2. 79; Dem. 18. 20). But now to give an air of plausibility to his charge that Demosthenes by hurrying on the debates prevented the city from concluding peace in conjunction with an Hellenic congress, he ventures to say that the envoys were sent out to invite the states to join them in carrying on the war, or in concluding peace, if that should seem more advisable (Aesch. 2. § 57), and had as yet in no

case returned (ib. § 59), and confirms this by an alleged resolution of the allies. He himself had been able to fulfil his mission and get back in the autumn at the latest, and had since been in Macedonia, but we are asked to believe that the rest who started at the same time had not in any instance been able to complete their missions in five months after he had returned. The statement of Demosthenes (18. 29, quoted on § 16) I hold to be strictly true, believing that the other envoys sent out with Aeschines had long since returned and that no missions were then out, the feeling of the cities having long since been ascertained. At the same time it is very probable that envoys from several of the cities they had applied to were present to hear the debates and learn the result which must greatly influence the course of events. I have no doubt that the words '*οὓς ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρακαλῶν τὰς πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων*' (Aesch, 2. 60) are an interpolation by the Orator, and that the ambassadors referred to in the resolution of the Allies are Philip's, who did not arrive till some days after the return of Aeschines and his colleagues.

After the great Dionysia the two assemblies were held on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion. Philocrates again came forward and proposed that not only peace but an alliance should be concluded with Philip who in his letter had expressed himself anxious for both. The allies of each were included with the special exception of the Phocians and Halus, but no notice apparently was taken of the recommendation of the Synod 'that any of the Greek states should be at liberty within three months to become parties to the treaty, by inscribing their names on the pillars of record and taking the oaths.' What part the orators took it is difficult to determine. Demosthenes accuses his rival of having spoken strongly against the proposition of Philocrates in the first assembly, and as strongly in favour of it in the second. Aeschines replies that he could not have done so as no speaking was allowed on the second day; but in the speech against Ctesiphon, he says

Demosthenes took up the whole of the 19th, and altered the temper of the assembly, which having listened to himself and the other speakers who all supported the resolution of the allies, had broken up the evening before under the impression that peace was to be concluded, but that it was better not to consider the question of an alliance, because they had issued invitations to the Greeks and wished to act with them (2. 71). Demosthenes just reverses this, and says 'when I prevailed on you the first day and had persuaded you to confirm the resolution of your allies and to summon Philip's ambassadors, the defendant drove it off to the next day and persuaded you to adopt the decree of Philocrates' (§ 144). Here, as elsewhere, the most damaging witness against Aeschines is Aeschines himself. At the same time that he makes the above assertion that he supported the resolution of the allies, which as he gives it in his reply, recommended that they should wait for the return of the Envoys before they considered the question of peace, he admits that he supported the resolution that was ultimately carried (1. 170; 2. 79), which is unintelligible unless he spoke on both days, as Demosthenes declares he did. Thus much at least is certain, that there was a hot debate, in which the war party, appealing to the ancient glories of Athens, made the exclusion of the Phocians, and the cession of Amphipolis with the recognition of the independence of Cardia which was necessarily included in the terms offered, a ground for breaking off the treaty. To obviate the impression made on the assembly, Aeschines came forward and warned them against imitating the errors of their forefathers, who in a case similar to the present had been induced by bad advisers to reject reasonable terms of peace and to carry on the war after they had lost the power to do so with any chance of success, the end being that they were fain to conclude peace with the loss of everything. Eubulus clinched the matter by telling them plainly that they must either vote for the proposals of Philocrates or 'go down to the Piraeus, pay a property tax and take the theatric fund for military

purposes,' as Philip had only promised to spare the Chersonese pending the negotiations. But the temper of the assembly was such that the promoters of the peace were forced to drop the clause excluding the Phocians and Halus. With this amendment the proposition of Philocrates was carried, and peace and alliance were decreed between Athens and her allies on the one hand and Philip and his allies on the other, on the basis of the *statu quo;* nothing being said about any Greeks not allies of either of the contracting parties. It is possible that Demosthenes and others supported the resolution of the allies to keep the treaty open for three months for the adhesion of other Greeks, as affording the only hope of a secure peace through the formation of a strong Hellenic league and reinstating Athens in her proper position as champion of Hellenic liberties, but Ps. D. 7. 30, which expressly mentions this as one of the amendments of the peace proposed by Athens, proves that any such advocacy if it took place was without effect. Though both orators in their speeches on the embassy wish to repudiate all connection with Philocrates, there is no doubt that his propositions were heartily supported *in toto* by Aeschines, as he himself at an earlier period openly avowed (Aesch. 1. 174 *ψέγων τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην*), and as necessary under the circumstances by Demosthenes also, except perhaps the excluding clause. But this is not certain, as he says *the people* forced Philocrates to expunge the clause and 'insert expressly the Athenians and allies of the Athenians' (§ 153), and does not appeal to them to support him in any assertion that he advocated the same, and confines his own part in the debates to the vague statements in §§ 144, 151. We should have heard more if he had really opposed the propositions of Philocrates. The whole weight of the evidence seems to go to prove that he was favourable at least to the decision arrived at. Six days after another assembly was held, in which it was resolved that the same ten should go again to take the oaths from Philip and his allies, and that the Athenians and their allies should at

once take the oaths to Philip's ambassadors. The question then arose who were to be reckoned as allies of Athens? The envoys had seen Philip about to march into Thrace to attack Cersobleptes. Was he to be admitted as an ally? Aeschines tell us (2. 81) that no mention was made of him in the peace debates, apparently because he was reckoned as a Macedonian vassal. He then says that when Critobulus claimed to take the oaths on the part of Cersobleptes, Demosthenes raised an objection which was overruled by the assembly. In his speech against Ctesiphon he asserts that notwithstanding the decision of the people, Cersobleptes was ultimately excluded, though on other grounds, by the contrivance of Demosthenes. It is impossible to say what took place: but it seems probable, from the conjunction of the Phocians and Cersobleptes (§§ 174, 181), that the Macedonian envoys pleaded want of instructions with regard to the latter, and that his case was reserved for discussion in conference with Philip (Thirl. 5. 356). But with regard to the Phocians there was no hesitation on their part. They gave formal notice to the Athenian authorities that the king could not enter into any terms of peace with that people. That this determination was known to Philocrates at least is clear from the terms of his motion. In order to extricate themselves from the dilemma created by the resolution of the people not to exclude the Phocians and the determination of Philip's envoys not to admit them, the promoters of the peace undertook to say on the part of the king that though it was impossible for him to break with the Thebans and Thessalians for whom he had undertaken the war, he would, when he got matters into his hands, settle everything in the interest of his valued ally and do all and more than all his letter promised (infr. § 321). This delusive view of things seemed to provide the necessary solution of the difficulty, and so the Phocians were left to the uncovenanted mercies of the king, apparently without any opposition on the part of Demosthenes to what he afterwards saw to be disgraceful and protested against when it was too

late. Demosthenes keeping up (infr. 234; Aesch. 2. 109 sq.) his attentions to the Macedonian envoys accompanied them on their way back as far as Thebes (Aesch. 3. 76). This is hardly consistent with the idea that he was dissatisfied with the peace or believed that its promoters were acting in concert with Philip. Afterwards he would have us believe that he was disgusted with his colleagues before the second embassy, and would on no account have gone with them if he had not promised some of the prisoners that he would come back to them; but there is not the slightest evidence that he was as yet on any other than friendly terms with them. No doubt he felt that the peace was all to the advantage of Philip and not an honourable one for Athens, but it was the best that could be done under the circumstances, as it guaranteed them against further losses, afforded them a breathing time, and promised the restoration of the captives. As he no where represents himself as having protested on behalf of Phocis earlier than his return from the second embassy when Philip was approaching Thermopylae and his designs had become apparent, it seems certain that at this time he believed Philip's professions and shared in the general delusion.

As the people had turned their thoughts from war and all military preparations had been given up from the moment peace became likely (Aesch. 2. 36 sq.; Dem. 18. 26), it was of the utmost importance that Philip's hands should be tied as soon as possible. Demosthenes therefore pressed his colleagues to start at once. And to show the need of haste a despatch was just then received from Chares announcing the defeat of Cersobleptes and the capture of the Sacred Mountain (Aesch. 2. 90). As the envoys still delayed, Demosthenes procured an order of council on the 3rd of Munychion (April) requiring them to start at once, and directing Proxenus, who was at Oreus with his squadron, to convey them to any place where they might hear Philip to be. But instead of proceeding from Oreus at once, as Demosthenes urged (Aesch. 2. 93 τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην...ἐν Ὠρεῷ...

ἡλέας), to the Hellespont, which they might have reached in a few days, they proceeded by leisurely journeys to Pella, where they waited till Philip returned some 50 days after they left Athens. Aeschines in reply does not venture to deny the material points of Demosthenes' statement, but says that the decree which gave them their instructions only told them to administer the oaths and said nothing about Thrace, and that if they had gone they could not have helped Cersobleptes. His defence is here so weak and equivocating that only three suppositions are possible, all discreditable to him; either that he and the rest resented the pressing remonstrances of Demosthenes, and would not hasten because they declined to be dictated to by him; or that they were guilty of culpable negligence which could not but be injurious to their country; or lastly, which is I think most probable, that they were acting in concert with the Macedonian envoys and giving the king time to settle the fate of Cersobleptes, about which he was equally determined as about the Phocians. The question would be decisively settled if Cersobleptes when they arrived was a Macedonian vassal. Be this as it may, what happened on the journey produced a complete breach between Demosthenes and his colleagues. The expostulations he addressed to them, expressed at last in no measured language, were warmly resented, and matters went so far that, as Aeschines tells us, no one would take his meals with him, or, if it was possible to avoid it, put up at the same inn (2. 97). When Philip returned to Pella he found not only the Athenian ambassadors but envoys also from Thebes, Sparta, Euboea, and Phocis. Great military preparations were going on, and it was known that he would soon march southward and interfere in the Sacred War. As the crisis approached, all were full of anxiety to know what he would do in a case where his support would give an irresistible preponderance to the side he espoused. Aeschines and his colleagues, instead of administering the oaths and bringing up the question about places that had been taken in Thrace, some of them occupied

by Athenian troops (Dem. 9. 15), put the matter off from day to day. Their further duty was not so clear. The decree after giving them their special instructions went on to direct them in the standing formula usual in such cases, 'to do whatever else they could for the good of the state' (Aesch. 2. 104). It might then be thought right that as the great question of the Sacred War had been left undecided by the fatal omission of the Phocians, and Philip left to act as he liked on his promise that he would consult the interests of Athens in all things, they should endeavour to find out what his real intentions were. They could then make a report to the people which would enable them to act with knowledge. So Aeschines argued, as he tells us, at a meeting of his colleagues, and urged that they should obey the real though unexpressed intentions of the people, and endeavour to instigate Philip against the Thebans and get him to re-establish the Boeotian towns. This, according to Aeschines, Demosthenes protested against, urging that they ought not to interfere in disputes which did not concern them, nor risk a collision between their city and Thebes, but confine themselves strictly to their special duty, which he was disposed to interpret so literally that he meant to take no notice of the march of Philip to Thermopylae. In the end each was left to follow his own course. At the audience Demosthenes insisting on speaking first, made a speech in which after some spiteful remarks about his colleagues, he entered into a long account of the services he had rendered to the king in promoting the alliance and the attentions he had shown to his envoys, following this up by flattery so gross and vulgar that his hearers hung down their heads for shame, but not a word did he say pertinent to the occasion (Aesch. 2, 108 sq.); an account of the matter we may safely pronounce false. Aeschines when it came to his turn addressed himself, after a few remarks about the oaths and the other objects of their mission, to the subject of the expedition and the Amphictyonic question, urging on Philip the views he had expressed at the conference with his colleagues (Aesch. 2. 113).

Philip managed through some of his officers to convey to some of the Athenian envoys, so Aeschines expresses it (2. 137), an assurance that he meant to re-establish the Boeotian towns and carry out the policy Aeschines had advocated. At the same time he was making specious promises to the Spartans, in order to detach them from the side of the Phocians, and giving assurances which led all to hope that their interests would be consulted. Unfortunately Demosthenes gives us no information on these points, but merely tells us that he was constantly thwarted and outvoted; that Philip tried them all with offers of money, which his colleagues accepted; that he had hired a vessel in order to leave Macedonia when he was stopped by Philip, and the other matters mentioned in §§ 166—173; his exertions in seeking out and relieving the captives being dwelt on with great satisfaction.

His preparations being now complete, Philip set out on his march accompanied by the various embassies and the Athenian envoys as far as Pheræ, where they administered the oaths to Philip and his allies in the common inn. Here Demosthenes charges his colleagues with two serious violations of their orders; first, with having administered the oaths, not to the magistrates in the several cities allied to Philip, but to any persons he chose to send to them (§ 278); and secondly, with surrendering the Athenian right to Cardia by admitting it as an ally of Philip, and expressly excluding the Phocians, Halus and Cersobleptes, contrary to the decree of Philocrates as amended by the people. No doubt it was open to Demosthenes as a political opponent thus to criticize what was done about the Phocians and Cersobleptes, but the truth is that the king had the Athenians at his mercy. Even if the envoys had been perfectly honest it is not easy to see what they could have done after the people had consented to ratify the peace without including those powers. It was hardly to be expected that the king would retreat from his declaration that he could not enter into any terms with Phocis; while as regards Cersobleptes, Demosthenes seems to admit that the conquest having

already taken place through the culpable negligence of the envoys the loss was irreparable (infr. 151; 18. 26 and 32); though just at the time this speech was delivered he and Hegesippus, with a hardihood of assertion only too characteristic of Attic orators, maintained that the Thracian towns had been taken after Philip had taken the oaths (9. 16; Ps. D. 7. 36). But even Demosthenes, clearly as he could now see where the mistake had been, would not then have ventured, knowing the state of feeling at home and their inability to carry on the war, to run the risk involved in refusing to swear the king to the peace on grounds the people had consented to waive. He further asserts that, feeling alarmed at the course things were taking and wishing to clear himself, he wrote a letter to the people giving a full account of everything, which his colleagues prevented him from sending, themselves despatching one full of lies. In particular he charges Aeschines with violating their instructions by constantly meeting Philip in private; and asserts that on one occasion he was seen coming out of the king's tent at night and stayed behind a day and a night after the rest left Pherae (§ 175).

Leaving Philip within three days' march of Thermopylae, the envoys returned to Athens on the 13th of Skirophorion (June) after an absence of 70 days. They brought with them a letter from the king, in which with many fair words he took all the blame on himself for the delay there had been in administering the oaths, saying that they had been anxious to go to the various cities but had been detained by him to assist him in making up the quarrel with Halus. Nothing was said about the Phocians or the promises that had been made in his name (§ 36). That they should have been the bearers of such a letter from Philip, (and Aeschines though he resents the charge that he wrote it does not deny the main allegation,) coupled with the confident statements they made in the assembly as to his intentions, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that it was the result of an arrangement between them for meeting the charges of Demosthenes, and renders the latter's comments just and con-

clusive (§ 37 sq.) Immediately on their return they appeared before the Council to give an account of their mission. Demosthenes, who was a member, at once arraigned the conduct of his colleagues, and produced such an effect by the alarming picture he drew of the situation, that the Council in the resolution they passed on his report went so far as to withhold from the envoys the customary vote of thanks and invitation to the Town Hall (§§ 18, 31). On the 16th (§ 58) the assembly was held in which the resolution of the Council should have been read and discussed. But, according to Demosthenes, Aeschines rose at once and without noticing what had taken place in the Council, assured the people that they had no reason to be alarmed because Philip was at Thermopylae. He had brought the king entirely over to their interests both on the Amphictyonic questions and all others, and could assure them they would in two or three days, without leaving home or having any field service or trouble, see everything done they could wish (§§ 34 sq., 19 sq.). The letter of Philip was then brought forward and read. Its professions of good will, according so well with the promises made in the peace deliberations by Philocrates and now repeated by Aeschines who had just come from the king, produced such an effect that when Demosthenes came forward and endeavoured to lay the true state of the case before them he was unable to obtain a hearing (§ 44 sq.) A decree was then carried on the motion of Philocrates praising Philip for 'offering to do what was just,' and extending the peace to his descendants, and declaring that unless the Phocians 'did what was right and gave up the temple to the Amphictyons the people would send forces against those who resisted' (§ 48 sq.). The envoys who had just returned were then re-appointed to convey this decree to Philip and witness the performance of his promises. But Demosthenes not wishing to go excused himself on oath. Aeschines, who had made no excuse when appointed, on finding that Demosthenes was not going, stayed behind on a plea of illness, in order, his rival says, to prevent the adoption

of any resolution adverse to the king when they received news of what was being done in Phocis. The envoys had scarcely set out on their mission when two successive letters were received from Philip, the first probably sent off after the refusal of Phalaecus to surrender, the second after his capitulation, inviting the Athenians to join him with their whole forces (§ 51). It was of the utmost importance to him to secure himself against any interference on behalf of Phocis; and this effect his letters were calculated to produce in whatever way they were taken. If the Athenians complied with his request they would go as his allies and, surrounded by superior forces, be compelled to remain passive spectators of the result; if they remained at home it would be with the conviction that having thus invited them he meant to do nothing contrary to their wishes and what had been said on his behalf. Apparently his friends at Athens, notwithstanding the decree that had just been passed, did not urge compliance with the invitation: though afterwards Aeschines and others affected to believe that if their troops had been there they would have enabled Philip to resist the influence of the Thebans and Thessalians, and sneered at Demosthenes, Hegesippus and others, who had prevented the outmarch by representations that Philip, though he had just concluded peace and alliance with them, would seize their soldiers as hostages (Aesch. 2. 137). While the Athenians remained at home expecting the performance of the promises that had been made to them the fate of Phocis was being decided. How far the proceedings of the assembly of the 16th contributed to the result it is impossible to say without knowing more than we do of the state of parties in Phocis. We know that certain Phocians were present listening to the debates. But even Demosthenes, who, ignoring Phalaecus, dignifies them with the name of 'envoys' of the Phocian people, does not venture to hint that they had come with any petition for help or sympathy. It is more probable that they were, as Aeschines says (2. 130), couriers whom Phalaecus sent to convey to him immediate intelligence of the

result of the report made by the Athenian envoys. Though, considering what had passed between them, Phalaecus had good reason for doubting the friendly disposition of the Athenians towards himself, it is barely possible that he refused to surrender to Philip's first summons, and sent his messengers in the hope that Athens might after all interfere at the last moment on behalf of her old allies. If the Athenian fleet was there to prevent troops from being landed in his rear, the pass could be maintained against all the forces arrayed against him. But it may be doubted whether he would have thought it advisable even with the help of Athens to continue the war in the exhausted state of his resources provided he could obtain fair terms and depend on the word of Philip. It seems most probable that he sent his messengers to Athens in order to satisfy his doubts on this point. When then he received intelligence of the report of the envoys and their emphatic declarations that Philip was come as the friend and ally of Athens, the protector of Phocis and humbler of Thebes, and that these statements were so thoroughly believed by the Athenians that they had gone to the length of making a conditional declaration of war against those who resisted Philip in carrying out this beneficent policy, even those most disposed to be suspicious must have been half ashamed of their doubts, and disposed to think that they could not put themselves in Philip's hands with a hope guaranteed by the confidence in him felt by the Athenians. Three days after his messengers returned from Athens, Phalaecus concluded a convention with Philip stipulating for liberty to leave the country with his mercenaries and such Phocians as chose to go with him. The rest were left to the mercy of the conqueror. Philip at once took possession of the towns commanding the Pass, Alponus, Thronium and Nicaea, and pushed forward into Phocis. There, throwing off the mask he declared his intention to carry out the wishes of the Thebans and Thessalians. Most of the towns surrendered at discretion: a few that resisted were taken by storm and their inhabitants sold into slavery. Orchomenus

and Coronea with the towns they had lost were restored to Thebes, which was also rewarded with a portion of Phocian territory. When the envoys reached Chalcis on their way to the Macedonian camp they heard a report that Philip had declared against the Phocians. Dercylus at once hurried back and found the people assembled in the Piraeus. According to Demosthenes, the news caused such grief and consternation that a decree was at once passed to bring the women and children from the country, to put the Piraeus and the forts into a state of defence, and celebrate the Herakleia not as usual in the country but in the city (§ 125). But it seems more probable that the news was not considered so certain as to exclude all hope that things might be as they wished, and that the envoys were directed to proceed at once to join Philip. This is Aeschines' statement (2. 94), which is confirmed by Demosthenes, who says that he *twice* excused himself on oath, and it is in accordance with the probabilities of the case. Such an extreme step is much more likely to have followed the news of the destruction of the Phocian cities, than a report that Philip had espoused the cause of Thebes, which did not prevent them from sending off their envoys. It is incredible that they should have done so after passing a resolution which indicated so complete a distrust of the king. Their fears, however, were soon allayed by finding that there was no disposition on the part of the confederates to attack them. A letter was also received from Philip in which he informed them of his success, and after administering a gentle rebuke to them for the hostile attitude they had in the irritation of the moment assumed towards him, assured them of his good will, and promised they should reap solid advantage from his alliance. Meanwhile Aeschines having recovered from his indisposition had gone with the rest of the envoys to Philip and his confederates, and there did not hesitate to take part in the sacrifices and festivities with which the victory over old allies of Athens was celebrated. Most readers will be disposed to think the comments his rival makes on his conduct (§§ 102

—110; 127—130) both just and reasonable. It is impossible to believe that this could have been done by any man of spirit who had been made the unwilling means of practising a gross deceit upon his countrymen. Soon after the arrival of the Athenian envoys, the Amphictyonic council, which had not assembled since the temple was seized by Philomelus (B. C. 357), was convoked to decide on the penalty due to the impiety of the Phocians. Their first resolution was to deprive the Phocians of access to the temple and their seat in the Amphictyonic council, the two votes they possessed being transferred to Philip. They next decreed that the Phocian cities, twenty-two in number, should all, with the one exception of Abae, be razed to the ground and their populations dispersed into villages not containing more than 50 dwelling-houses, or within a furlong of each other. They were sentenced to pay a yearly tribute of 60 talents to the temple at Delphi till they had paid off the sum of 10,000 talents, the estimated amount of the treasure they had seized, and in the mean time were not allowed to possess arms or horses, the horses they had being sold, and their arms thrown down the precipices of Parnassus or burnt. This sentence, cruel under any circumstances, when carried out by the Thebans and Thessalians who had a long hatred to gratify, brought Phocis to the lowest depths of misery and desolation. Aeschines tells us the Aeteans proposed that all the Phocians of military age should be cast down from the rock, and takes great credit to himself for having saved them from so horrible a death. There is not the slightest probability that they were in danger of any such fate. We should have been glad to read that he had pleaded for some mitigation of the hard measure actually dealt out to them: but we look in vain for any hint that he disapproved of what was done. We must therefore leave him under the infamy of having consciously played into the hands of Philip, and witnessed without protest, nay with satisfaction, the extinction of an Hellenic people, and in it the humiliation of Athens and the exaltation of the enemy of Hellenic freedom.

The trial, according to the express statement of Idomeneus, the friend and scholar of Epicurus (*flor.* B.C. 310—270), resulted in the acquittal of Aeschines by 30 votes, a narrow majority when we consider the difficulties under which his opponent laboured and the strenuous efforts made by Eubulus, Phocion and others who appeared on his behalf. But notwithstanding the express testimony of a writer so near the time of which he spoke and perfectly competent to attest a matter of fact like that in question, Plutarch (*vit. Dem.* c. 15) and some modern scholars have been led, from the absence of all allusions to this trial in the speeches on the Crown, to think that the orations on both were, like the speech against Midias, never spoken but published as political pamphlets. But both orators had sufficient motives for their silence; Demosthenes had not gained a victory, and Aeschines would hardly be disposed to boast of a majority of 30 in a court of at least 500 members as a triumphant acquittal to which he could appeal. While these considerations deprive this negative evidence of all force, a careful perusal of this speech and the reply to it can leave no doubt in the mind of the student that the common opinion is the right one. Though Demosthenes in preparing his speech for publication altered or omitted some things referred to by Aeschines, his speech in substance and details is the same as that delivered on the trial and replied to by Aeschines. The student may satisfy himself of this by comparing:

D. §§ 9...12, 27, 302 sq.	with	Æ. §§ 79, 164
§ 13	,,	§ 20
ib.	,,	§ 123
§§ 13...16	,,	§ 56 sq., 66
§ 20	,,	§§ 119 sq.
§§ 23, 45 sq.	,,	§ 121
§ 57 sq.	,,	§ 130
§ 113	,,	§ 167
§ 121 sq.	,,	§ 94 sq., 138 sq.
§ 169	,,	§ 100

§ 189	„	§ 22
§ 237	„	§ 149
§ 243	„	§ 144
§ 281	„	§ 78
§ 311 sq.	„	§ 171
§ 337	„	§ 1.

In the following passages Aeschines refers to matters which are either not in this speech as we have it or have been altered: Aeschines § 6; § 10; § 86; § 88 compared with Demosthenes §§ 150 sq.; § 124; § 156 sq. compared with Demosthenes § 192 sq. (A. Schäfer *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* III 2. p. 66 sq.).

In the notes in order to save space I have used abbreviations in referring to the editions used, and Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm., Sh., Sch. refer to Bekker's stereotype edition (B. Tauchnitz); Dindorf's third ed. (Teubner 1868); Vömel's ed. of the *De f. legatione*, (Teubner 1862); Mr Shilleto's well-known edition of the speech, and Schäfer's notes in the *Apparatus Criticus* respectively. Besides Bekker's MSS. indicated by S, F, Υ, Φ, Ω, I have often quoted the readings of the MS. marked Laur. S in Vömel's edition, in this L. This MS., which is described as of the 13th century, was discovered in the Laurentian library at Florence by the learned editor of Aeschines, F. Schultz. Besides others, it contains this speech and that on the Crown. After a careful comparison of the two MSS. in these two speeches it appears, to use Vömel's words, that L closely agrees 'cum S manu correctrice antiquâ et cum ejusdem margine antiquo. Derivati sunt ex uno fonte ambo, Parisianus et Laurentianus, sed hic e pluribus rivulis mediis etiam aliena elementa tulit et per longiorem viam interdum amisit genuina quae ille servavit... Nunc S non amplius sine comite dominatur, habet nunc qui eum tanquam ἀντιγραφεύς isque qui sui juris est comitetur.' Its importance to an editor of Demosthenes can hardly be over-estimated.

ERRATA.

TEXT.

P. 8, line 1, *after* ὑπομνῆσαι *insert* εἰς.
,, 108, ,, 2, *dele* πρό.

NOTES.

P. 1, 3 lines from bottom, *for* δέησομαι *read* δεήσομαι.
,, 3 *b*, line 8, *for* πρὸς τι *read* πρός τι.
,, 4 *b*, ,, 6, *for* μαλιστ' *read* μάλιστ'.
,, 5 *a*, ,, 8, *for* πεπονθῃ *read* πεπόνθῃ.
,, 7 *b*, 6 lines from bottom, *for* οἶδα γ' *read* οἶδά γ'.
,, 12 *a*, bottom, *for* μήδενι *read* μηδενί.
,, 16 *a*, line 25, *for* τάλαντου *read* τάλαντον.
,, 19 *b*, ,, 29, *for* ἤθη *read* ἤδη.
,, 27 *a*, ,, 23, *for* ἀνθράποδα *read* ἀνδράποδα.
,, 35 *b*, ,, 13, *for* διαπραξαιντο *read* διαπράξαιντο.
,, 44 *a*, ,, 9 from bottom, *for* αἴσχρον *read* αἰσχρόν.
,, 50 *a*, ,, 13, *for* ἄδικος εἰμι *read* ἄδικός εἰμι.
,, 56 *b*, ,, 18, *for* λογόγραφοι *read* λογογράφοι.
,, 58 *b*, ,, 16, *for* τίμης *read* τιμῆς.
,, 61 *a*, ,, 1, *for* περιέστι *read* περίεστι.
,, 72 *a*, ,, 24, *for* αὐτῶν *read* αὐτῶν.
,, 83 *b*, ,, 22, *for* μητρώῳ *read* μητρῴῳ.
,, 89 *a*, ,, 15, *for* βασίλει *read* βασιλεῖ.
,, 105 *b*, ,, 20, *for* ην *read* ἦν.
,, 111 *a*, ,, 9, *for* αὐτῳ *read* αὐτῷ.
,, 112 *a*, ,, 16, *for* οὐ πανύ *read* ου πάνυ.
,, 138 *a*, ,, 8, *for* Madv. 108 *b read* Madv. 118. *b*.
,, 150 *a*, ,, 13, *for* Franks *read* Franke.
,, 157 *b*, ,, 5 from bottom, *for* λογόγραφον *read* λογογράφον.
,, 158 *a*, ,, 25, *dele* 'the.'
,, ,, *b*, 9 lines from bottom, *for* το *read* τὸ.
,, 163 *a*, 6 ,, ,, *for* αμελεῖν *read* ἀμελεῖν.
,, 197 *b*, line 8, *for* Τρωάς τε *read* Τρῶάς τε.
,, 202 *b*, 2 lines from bottom, *for* ἐξεπεμψατε *read* ἐξεπέμψατε.
,, 203 *b*, line 10, *for* Schiebe *read* Scheibe.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ.

1 Ὅση μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σπουδὴ περὶ τουτονὶ τὸν 341
ἀγῶνα καὶ παραγγελία γέγονε, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς
ᾠσθῆσθαι ἑωρακότας ἄρτι τοὺς ὅτ' ἐκληροῦσθε ἐνοχλοῦν-
τας καὶ προσιόντας ὑμῖν. δεήσομαι δὲ πάντων ὑμῶν, ἃ

§ 1. *The orator appeals to the Jury not to let the intrigues and importunities of the partizans of the accused weigh with them more than justice and a regard for their oaths, now that Aeschines who had hitherto staved off an account of his conduct as ambassador by unconstitutional threats and proceedings had at last been forced into court.*

With this *exordium*, in which the orator seeks to gain the sympathy of the jurors by representing himself as contending against odds, and makes an appeal to their 'fides' and 'religio,' compare Aesch. 3. 1 τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε...καὶ τὴν παράταξιν ὅση γεγένηται καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις... : Andoc. 1. 1 τὴν μὲν παρασκευήν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν...σχεδόν τι πάντες ἐπίστασθε, and Lys. 19. 2 sq., all probably having a common origin in some τέχνη which furnished a προοίμιον suitable for such a case. Cf. Quintil. bk. 4. c. 1.

σπουδή...παραγγελία] 'how much intrigue and canvassing there has been about this trial;' infr. § 289 συγγνώμη καὶ παραγγελία τῶν νόμων μεῖζον ἰσχύουσιν: 21. 4, quoted below.

σχεδόν] goes with πάντας...ᾠσθῆσθαι as in Andocides quoted above; Lys. 13. 43 σχεδὸν οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι: infr. § 190. For the separation of the article from the participle in τοὺς...ἐνοχλοῦντας (ὑπερβατὸν καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν) see n. to 2. 16; Ps. Dem. 25. 66 ἡδέως ἂν εἰδείην τίς ἐστιν ὁ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς εὔνοιαν προδεδωκότα τοῦτον, ἣν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον νῦν ἔχειν ὑπισχνεῖται, πιστεύων. The term 'hyperbaton' was perhaps derived from Pl. *Protag.* 343 E ἀλλ' ὑπερβατὸν δεῖ θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι τὸ ἀλαθέως.

ὅτ' ἐκληροῦσθε] 'when you were drawing lots,' to determine the composition of the court. Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. δικαστής. Ps. Dem. 25. 27 ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ πάντων ἄρτι κληρουμένων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι βουλομένων εἰς τοῦτο λαχεῖν τὸ δικαστήριον, μόνοι δικάζεθ' ἡμῖν. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐλάχετε, εἶτ' ἀπεκληρώθητε: 21. 4 ὅσῳ πλείοσιν οὗτος ἠνώχληκε καὶ παρήγγελκεν (Bekk. st. has περιήγγελκεν, which is inconsistent with the words that follow), ἐώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄρτι πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων (infr. 332) οἷα ἐποίει, which last words = ὅτ' ἐκληροῦσθε here. Comp. Arist. *Vesp.* 552.

δέησομαι] The present would have been more natural here. But the futures of αἰτέω, βούλομαι, δέομαι and

καὶ τοῖς μὴ δεηθεῖσι δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν, μηδεμίαν μήτε χάριν μήτ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν εἰσελήλυθεν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὀμωμοκώς, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, αἱ δὲ τῶν παρακλήτων αὗται δεήσεις καὶ σπουδαὶ τῶν ἰδίων πλεονεξιῶν ἕνεκα γίγνονται, ἃς ἵνα κωλύηθ' οἱ

the like, are not unfrequently used as more modest and deferential: the wish &c. being represented as something dependent on certain conditions. Soph. *Aj.* 825 αἰτήσομαι; Andoc. 1. 1 δεήσομαι ὑμῶν; Dem. 34. 1; 37. 3; Antiph. 6. 8 βουλήσομαι ἀπολογήσασθαι: Eur. *Med.* 259, &c.; Dem. 21. 58 παραιτήσομαι.

ἃ ὑπάρχειν] 'which even those who do not ask it are entitled to;' infr. 61, 62; 21. 90 ἃ καὶ τοῖς ὄντως ἀδικοῦσιν ἅπανθ' ὑπάρχει.

χάριν...ἄνδρα] 'no man's person or favour.' 18. 109 τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια: 21. 3 πολλὰς δὲ δεήσεις καὶ νὴ Δί' ἀπειλὰς ὑπομείνας; Lys. 14. 40 μήτε ἔλεον μήτε συγγνώμην μήτε χάριν μηδεμίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν νόμων τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῶν ὅρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε.

τὸν ὅρκον] i.e. the judicial oath (ὁ ὅρκος ὁ ἡλιαστικὸς Hyper. *pro Eux.* § 42; ὁ τῶν δικαστῶν ὅρκος Dem. 24. 148), which bound them to hear both parties ὁμοίως 18. 2: Aesch. 2. 1. The plural used by Lysias l. c. refers to the various provisions of the law; 18. l. c. τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις.

ἐνθυμουμένους] instead of being attracted into the case of ὑμῶν πάντων is affected by the infinitive. So τιμωρησαμένους in § 343; Thuc. 1. 120 ἀγαθῶν δὲ, ἀδικουμένους...πολεμεῖν: 'remembering that this is for the interest of yourselves and the whole state.' Cf. 18. 249.

τῶν παρακλήτων] 'of partizans' (Lat. *advocatio* Cic. *pro Sest.* § 109; *advocati, pro Cluent.* § 111; '*quos videtis adesse,*' *pro Sext. Am.* § 1), persons who attended a defendant in court to influence the jury by their presence, to speak and intercede for him &c., Hyper. *pro Eux.* § 11 ἐκάλεις πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον τοὺς βοηθήσοντάς σοι: Dem. 32. 32: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 43 ῥήτωρ κληθείς: Aesch. 3. 199: Isae. 1. 7 τοὺς φίλους παρακαλέσαντες: (Dem. 18. 143 οἱ...ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι.) These were, relations (Lys. 14. 20; infr. 237), members of the defendant's tribe or demos (23. 206; Andoc. 1. 150; Hyper. *pro Eux.* § 11), or men eminent in the political world (Lys. 20. 15; infr. 290 Eubulus; Lys. 30. 31). From Ps. Dem. 49. 10, we learn that Jason of Thessaly and Alcetas I. of Epirus came to Athens to intercede for Timotheus, and Aesch. 3. 7, speaks in general terms of τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων. Aeschines in his defence (2. 184) calls on Eubulus, Phocion, Nausicles and others to speak on his behalf. For the position of αὗται Madv. 11. Cf. 4. 17 ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας...στρατείας: Pl. *Prot.* 313 B τῷ ἀφικομένῳ τούτῳ ξένῳ: Thuc. 3. 95 οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλοι οὗτοι Λοκροί: id. 8. 100 ἡ τῶν φυγάδων αὕτη διάβασις.

τῶν ἰδίων πλ.] 'to get advantages for individuals over others:' cf. infr. 239. S om. ἰδίων and is followed by Vöm. who quotes some irrelevant passages in support of the omission. His idea that if ἰδίων be retained τῶν ought to be omitted, is unfortunate. Both ἰδίων and the article are required to bring out the full force of the contrast. Cf. 18. 295 τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο: 21. 213 (in reference to the 'advocati' of Midias) ὥσπερ ἕκαστος τούτων

νόμοι συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵνα κυρίας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ποιῆτε.
2 *τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους, ὅσοι πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ δικαίως προσέρχονται, κἂν δεδωκότες ὦσιν εὐθύνας, τὴν ἀειλογίαν ὁρῶ προτεινομένους, τουτονὶ δ' Αἰσχίνην πολὺ τἀναντία τούτου· πρὶν γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ λόγον δοῦναι τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸν μὲν ἀνῄρηκε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλθόντων, τοῖς δ' ἀπειλεῖ περιιών, δεινότατον πάντων ἔθος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσάγων καὶ ἀσυμφορώτατον ὑμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ πράξας τι τῶν*

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίᾳ συμφερόντων...οὕτω ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων. The *conj.* after *συνήγαγον* might be explained as expressing the permanent design and object of the laws, (33. 2 *ἔδωκεν ὁ νόμος, ἵνα μηδεὶς συκοφαντῇ τι*: 9. 41 *κατέθεντο εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵν' αὐτοῖς ᾖ χρήσιμα... ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἔχητε...*; Ps. Dem. 25. 48; 20. 102, 152); but it rather belongs to that well-defined class of cases in which the aorist expresses an act which falls in the (immediate or more remote) past, the object or intention being in course of realization at the time of speaking. Thuc. 1. 60 *ἐκκλησίαν...ξυνήγαγον ἵν' ὑπομνήσω*: Thuc. 1. 72 *παρήλθομεν... ὅπως μὴ...βουλεύσησθε*: Xen. *An.* 1. 6. 6 *συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς... ὅπως... πράξω*: Dem. 3. 6 *ἐμνήσθην ἵνα μὴ... πάθητε*: Pl. *Symp.* 174 A *ταῦτα δὴ ἐκαλλωπισάμην ἵνα καλὸς...ἴω*; infr. 257. In such passages our idiom would rather require the definite preterite, but it would be wrong to explain them, as Jelf does (§ 806. 1), by saying that the aorist has the force of the perfect. It cannot lose its proper force of expressing the past act or state in and by itself. We often find it thus used in combination with the perfect (9. 26 *τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν ἵνα...δουλεύωσιν*: 18. 142 *τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην*: Ps. Dem. 26. 17 *κατηγόρηκε καὶ εἶλεν*: infr. 260), the reference to the time of speaking given in the perfect being extended to the more colourless aorist. Tr. 'which the laws brought you together to prevent, not to establish for the benefit of the unjust.'

§ 2. **πρὸς τὰ κοινά...προσέρχονται**] 'Come honestly to the public service,' a common phrase: 18. 257: Aesch. 1. 165 *οὐκ ὢν ἰδιώτης ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιών*: infr. 99: Aesch. 3. 22 *προσῆλθε...πρός τι τῶν κοινῶν*: Dein. 1. 110 *προσελήλυθε πρὸς τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι*: 2. 15 *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσελήλυθα*: (*εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῄειν* Dem. 18. 233): comp. the Lat. *accedere ad rempublicam*; 'qui ad rempublicam adeunt.' Cic. *pr. Imp. C. Pomp.* § 70.

τὴν ἀειλογίαν] 'professing a perpetual responsibility.' The word is apparently found only here and in 57. 27 *δίκαιον τοὺς παῖδας τὴν ἀειλογίαν παρέχειν*. The thing meant is clearly expressed in 18. 111; also 1. 28. With *πολὺ τἀναντία* a verb of general meaning may be supplied from the preceding clause; 'does the very contrary;' infr. 252 *οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον*.

τὸν μὲν ἀνῄρηκε] 'he has put one (Timarchus) out of the way,' i.e. by procuring his *ἀτιμία*, by which he was ruined socially and politically. The consequences to T. of his condemnation are given in §§ 240, 257, 284, 285. From the language used in those passages it is clear that T. was not put to death; cf. n. to § 284. On the *Euthyne* to which every outgoing official had to submit himself (Aesch. 3. 17), see *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v.

τοῖς δ'] i.e. Demosthenes: infr. § 209.

ὁ πράξας...] 'for if a man who has held any office or administra-

κοινῶν καὶ διοικήσας τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φόβῳ καὶ μὴ τῷ δικαίῳ κατασκευάσει μηδένα εἶναι κατήγορον αὐτοῦ, παντάπασιν 342
ἄκυροι πάντων ὑμεῖς γενήσεσθε.

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγξειν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποιηκότα τουτονὶ καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ὄντα τιμωρίας ἄξιον θαρρῶ καὶ πάνυ πιστεύω· ὃ δὲ καίπερ ὑπειληφὼς ταῦτα φοβοῦμαι, φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ παρ ὑμῖν ἀγῶνες οὐχ ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν καιρῶν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι, καὶ τὸ χρόνον γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν πολὺν δέδοικα μή τινα λήθην ἢ συνήθειαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν.

tion' is to be allowed by threats and intimidation to prevent any one from obeying τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τὶς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; (Aesch. 3. 23), the principle of our democratic constitution is violated and you the sovereign people deprived of all authority. With τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φόβῳ comp. 2. 27 τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα. Dobree appositely quotes in illustration of this passage, 21. 124 οὐ δὴ δεῖ παρορᾶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐξείργοντα δέει καὶ φόβῳ τὸ δίκην ὧν ἂν ὑμῶν ἀδικηθῇ τις λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο τι χρὴ νομίζειν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑμῶν μετουσίας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Aeschines retorts (2. 183), by accusing Dem. of getting up a false accusation against him τοὺς εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀντεροῦντας ἐκφοβῶν.

§§ 3—8. *Though confident and fully persuaded that I can prove him to be guilty of many heinous crimes, I fear the length of time that has elapsed since the embassy has caused you to forget or become reconciled to your wrongs. You may put yourselves into a position to judge the matter rightly by remembering for what ambassadors ought to give an account. I will shew that Aeschines is guilty on every one of these counts.*

§ 3.] The Fut. Inf. ἐξελέγξειν is defended by 29. 2 (quoted by Vöm.) οὐχὶ τῷ...ἐξελέγξειν πιστεύων. For οὖν see n. to 1. 3.

φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀ.] Cf. infr. § 12 on οὐχ ὡς.

ὅ...ὅτι] Madv. 197: Dem. 24. 200 ὃ τοίνυν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μαλιστ' ἄξιον ὀργῆς εἶναι, φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι...; infr. § 85. 'But what notwithstanding this conviction I am afraid of I will tell you without disguise. It appears to me that all actions tried before you depend (Madv. 54 b) on the times of bringing them quite as much as on the facts involved.' The readiness to forget and forgive injuries is often mentioned as a characteristic of the Athenians by way of praise or blame: 6. 30 καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμνῆσθαι: 18. 99 and 138.

ἐμπεποίηκεν] ἐμπεποιήκει vulg.: πεποιήκει pr. S ('antiq. addidit ἐμ.' Vöm.), whence Bekk. st., Dind. Vöm. read ἐμπεποιήκῃ. Sh. adopts the indicative after Elmsley, who argued (*Mus. Crit.* 1. p. 336) that if Demosthenes had employed the subj. here he would have said ἐμπεποιηκὼς ᾖ, as the orators generally, if not always, express the perf. subj. or its corresponding optative by the auxiliary verb and the participle. He refers to βεβοηθηκὼς ᾖ § 16: συμβεβηκὸς ἂν εἴη § 32; δεδωκότες εἶεν § 135: ἀναπεπτωκότες ᾖτε § 224. But the exx. of the subj. not so expressed quoted by Sh., 20. 64 ἐστῶ-

4 ὡς δή μοι δοκεῖτ' ἂν ὅμως ἐκ τούτων καὶ γνῶναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ δικάσαι νυνί, τοῦθ' ὑμῖν λέξω· εἰ σκέψαισθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ λογίσαισθε τίνων προσήκει τῇ πόλει λόγον παρὰ πρεσβευτοῦ λαβεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ὧν ἀπήγγειλε, δεύτερον δὲ ὧν ἔπεισε, τρίτον δὲ ὧν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ, μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν χρόνων, ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ
5 τούτοις, εἰ ἀδωροδοκήτως ἢ μὴ πάντα ταῦτα πέπρακται. τί δή ποτε τούτων; ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν τὸ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἔστιν· ἂν μὲν οὖν ὦσιν ἀληθεῖς, τὰ δέοντα ἔγνωτε, ἂν δὲ μὴ τοιαῦται, τἀναντία.

σι and ib. 83 ἑστήκῃ, should make us hesitate to deny to Dem. and the orators a form freely used by other writers. To the instances adduced by Sh. from Thucydides (4. 122 ἀφεστήκοιεν: 7. 83 παραδεδώκοιεν: 8. 108 πεποιήκοι), add Pl. *Rep.* 376 A πεπονθῇ: 614 A ἀπειλήφῃ: Herod. 1. 44 εὑρήκοι: 1. 83 ἡλώκοι: 1. 86 ἀναβεβήκοι: 1. 119 βεβρώκοι: Xen. *An.* 5. 7. 16 ἐμπεπτώκοι: *Hell.* 3. 5. 23 ἀνακεχωρήκοι: ib. 5. 4. 3 ὑπερετήκοι; *Mem.* 1. 7. 5 ἐξηπατήκοι; Lys. 23. 3 ὠφλήκοι. But here the words ὅμως ἐκ τούτων... which do not refer to his fear, but to the assumed fact that they had forgotten or become reconciled to their wrongs, support the indicative 'I fear...has produced in you.' The subj. would mean 'I fear...may prove to have,' 'I shall find that it has.' Goodwin § 18: infr. 329. The second embassy left Athens in April B.C. 349 and this speech was delivered in B.C. 343.

§ 4.] For δοκεῖτ' ἄν the vulg. has δοκοῖτ' ἄν, a very common and obvious error, which however has not yet disappeared from even the latest editions; e. g. Benseler still reads in Isocr. 1. 12 πειράσομαι... ὑποθέσθαι, δι' ὧν ἄν μοι δοκοίης...ἐπιδοῦναι and Mr Green εἰ...πρίαιο σωφρονεῖν ἄν μοι δοκοῖς in Arist. *Vesp.* 1405. How prone the copyists were to this error is shown in Hyper. *Fun. Or.* col. 9 (Blass) ἄξιον τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν συμβῆναι νομίζοιμεν...and ib. ὅσῳ δεινότερα τὰ προσδοκώμεν' ἂν γενέσθαι κρίνοιμεν τοσούτῳ... where the indicative is necessary. See n. to 4. 31. 'I will tell you how even under these circumstances you may come to a right judgment and decision now—by considering among yourselves and reflecting...' The reading of the Zurich editors λέξω· σκέψασθε...καὶ λογίσασθε is quite contrary to the Orator's style. Cf. 21. 199 ἐξ ὅτου δὲ τοῦτ' ἂν εἰδείητε, ἐγὼ φράσω· εἰ...θεωρήσαιτε...: 23. 23 ὡς δ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖτε ... μαθεῖν τοῦθ' ὑμῖν φράσω· εἰ σκέψαισθ'...: 45. 86 ὡς οὖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι γνῶναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ὧν ἠδικήμεθ' ἡμεῖς, φράσω· εἰ σκέψαιτο...ἕκαστος...'.

ὅμως ἐκ τούτων] 'in spite of all this'; ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων 18. 237: Eur. *Hipp.* 705: Soph. *Aj.* 537, with Jebb's note.

ὧν προσετάξατ' αὐτῷ] 'of the instructions you gave him,' i. e. in the ψήφισμα which gave the envoys their commission and defined their duties, §§ 17, 37, &c.

πέπρακται] is active as in § 328. Cf. Veitch, p. 482; 'and after all this, whether he has done all uncorruptly or otherwise'—the clause depending not so much on λόγον... λαβεῖν, as on a σκοπεῖν or the like; cf. § 30.

§ 5. **ἔγνωτε**] The *empirical* aorist, 'you come to a right decision;' 'narrat quid saepe factum sit, ut in-

τὰς δὲ συμβουλίας πιστοτέρας ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι τὰς τῶν πρέσβεων· ὡς γὰρ εἰδότων περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν ἀκούετε· οὐδὲν οὖν ἐξελέγχεσθαι δίκαιός ἐστιν ὁ πρεσβευτὴς φαῦλον
6 οὐδ' ἀσύμφορον ὑμῖν συμβεβουλευκώς. καὶ μὴν περὶ ὧν γε προσετάξατ' εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι καὶ διαρρήδην ἐψηφίσασθε ποιῆσαι, προσήκει διῳκηκέναι. εἶεν· τῶν δὲ δὴ χρόνων διὰ τί; ὅτι πολλάκις ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι συμβαίνει πολλῶν 343
πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων καιρὸν ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γίγνεσθαι, ὃν ἄν τις ἑκὼν καθυφῇ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προδῷ, οὐδ' ἂν
7 ὁτιοῦν ποιῇ πάλιν οἷός τ' ἔσται σῶσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπέρ γε τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μή, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τούτων λαμβάνειν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις βλάπτεται πάντες οἶδ' ὅτι φήσαιτ' ἂν εἶναι δεινὸν καὶ πολλῆς ὀργῆς ἄξιον· ὁ μέντοι τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς οὐ διώ-

telligatur quid fieri soleat' (Madv. *De Fin.* p. 97); what has occurred in the indefinite past, which is all that is grammatically stated, representing all possible cases, it being implied that what has happened will happen again under like circumstances. Madv. *Synt.* 111. r. a.

ὡς εἰδότων] Madv. 181. r. 2: Goodwin 109, n. 4: 'as to persons who you think understand what they were sent about.'

δίκαιός ἐστιν] Madv. 165. r.

ὁ πρ.] 'an ambassador,' the article being generic: infr. 300 *τὸν προεστηκότα*: 18. 180 *τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην*.

§ 6. **καὶ μήν...γε.**] 'Again, whatever you instructed him (the envoy) to say or do, and expressly commissioned him to perform, it is his duty to have executed,' *περὶ* being used absolutely 'in regard to the matters which,' as *ὑπέρ* below: cf. 1. 11 and 19.

καθυφῇ...] a common word in Dem. cf. 3. 8; 16. 18 *χωρὶς τοῦ καθυφεῖναί τινας Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀρκάδων*: 29. 35 *τῆς προικὸς...ἣν οὗτος καθυφεῖκεν* 'at the appropriation of which he connived;' Ps. Dem. 58. 6 *καθυφιεῖ τὰ τῆς πόλεως*, 'compromise the interests of the state;' especially with *ἀγῶνα* 'to conduct in collusion with the adversary,' 'to compromise,' the Lat. *praevaricari*. Cf. L. and S. *προδῷ* is added on the principle elucidated infr. § 30; 'which if treacherously sacrificed and betrayed do what one will cannot be recovered.' *μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ* 9. 69: infr. 324: 18. 168. For *σῶσαι* 'to retrieve,' 'make good,' cf. 5. 3 *τὰ προειμένα σωθήσεται*: 8. 3: infr. 143: Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 20 *σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν*.

§ 7. **ἀλλὰ μήν...γε**] A stronger transition than *καὶ μήν*, which has only so much adversative force as is involved in the introduction of a new fact or step in an argument. 'Moreover in regard to (as *περὶ* above) his having acted uncorruptly or not, I am sure...'. Cf. § 147.

λαμβάνειν] (as *λῆμμα*) in a bad sense 'to take reward:' 2. 28: 5. 12: 8. 24: 21. 182.

ὁ...τιθείς] substantively and therefore as a noun excluding reference to time, 'the legislator:' 23. 27 (ib. 25 *ὁ θεὶς τὸν νόμον* 'qui legem tulit'); Pl. *Cratyl.* 407 B *ὁ τὰ ὀνόματα τιθείς* (ib. 438 C *ὁ θείς*, i. e. *τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα*). So 23. 27 *ὁ γράφων τὸ ψήφισμα*. 'The legislator however did not make this distinction, but has absolutely forbidden the taking of bribes in any way.' For *εἶπε, γρ.* S and T have *ἀπεῖπε*, which would be more regular. But as here Lys.

ρισε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς εἶπε μηδαμῶς δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἡγούμενος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸν ἅπαξ λαβόντα καὶ διαφθαρέντα ὑπὸ χρημάτων οὐδὲ κριτὴν ἔτι τῶν συμφερόντων
8 ἀσφαλῆ μένειν τῇ πόλει. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ἐξελέγξω καὶ δείξω σαφῶς Αἰσχίνην τουτονὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα καὶ κεκωλυκότα ἐμοῦ τὸν δῆμον ἀκοῦσαι τἀληθῆ, καὶ πάντα τἀναντία τῶν συμφερόντων συμβουλευκότα, καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσετάξατε ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πεποιηκότα, καὶ ἀνηλωκότα τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων καιροὶ προεῖνται τῇ πόλει, καὶ πάντων τούτων δῶρα καὶ μισθοὺς εἰληφότα μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, καταψηφίσασθε αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκην ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων λάβετε· ἂν δὲ μὴ δείξω ταῦτα ἢ μὴ πάντα, ἐμὲ μὲν φαῦλον ἡγεῖσθε, τοῦτον δὲ ἄφετε.

9 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορεῖν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις ἂν οὐκ εἰκότως μισήσειεν αὐτόν, βούλομαι, πρὸ πάντων ὧν μέλλω λέγειν, μνημονεύοντας ὑμῶν οἶδ' ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπο-

1. 30 διαρρήδην εἴρηται τούτου μὴ καταγιγνώσκειν φόνου.

οὐδὲ ἔτι...] 'ceases to be even.' Compare the language in 5. 12 and 18. 298.

§ 8.] For πεποιηκότα Bekk. st. and Vöm. read ποιήσαντα with S. Cf. infr. 178, where in summing up the charges he had brought and proved, we have a perfect participle followed by an aorist, then another perfect, and after it a succession of aorists followed by perfects. Madv. 183. But here the one aorist among so many perfects is improbable.

τῇ πόλει] 'has wasted times in which opportunities for securing many important advantages have been lost to us,' never to be recovered, as said above. **ἢ μή**, sc. δείξω, 'or shall not prove them all.'

§§ 9—17. *Considering the determined hostility to Philip previously expressed by him, Aeschines' conduct after his return from the embassy is inexplicable except on the supposition that he was bribed.*

§ 9. **πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν**] 'though I can lay many grievous things to his charge still, besides those I have mentioned, for which every one must justly abominate him...' For this absolute use of κατηγορῶ without a genitive Dobree quotes Arist. *Ran.* 996 δεινὰ γὰρ κατηγόρηκεν. So Dem. 6. 13; 18. 291, 294; 21. 42; Andoc. 1. 7 πολλοὶ ἤδη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσαντες παραχρῆμα ἐξηλέχθησαν: Lys. 3. 25 and 19. 4, where we find the same words as those used by Andocides, taken most likely from some τέχνη: infr. 334; Arist. *Vesp.* 931, and elsewhere.

οἶδ' ὅτι] infr. 309 and *passim*; Madv. 193. r. Also at the beginning of a sentence in Antiphon 1: 11 καίτοι εὖ οἶδα γ', εἰ...ἠθέλησαν...παραδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ ἠθέλησα παραλαβεῖν, αὐτὰ ἂν ταῦτα μέγιστα τεκμήρια παρείχοντο. 'To remind you, though most of you, I am sure, remember, on what side Ae. ranged himself in politics.'

μνῆσαι τίνα τάξιν ἑαυτὸν ἔταξεν Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τίνας λόγους κατὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου δημηγορεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεπραγμένοις καὶ 344
δεδημηγορημένοις ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστα ἐξελεγχθήσεται δῶρα
10 ἔχων. ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενος Φίλιππον, ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ διαφθείροντά τινας τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ προεστηκότων, καὶ ἔχων Ἴσχανδρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου δευτεραγωνιστὴν προσιὼν μὲν τῇ βουλῇ προσιὼν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τούτων, καὶ πείσας ὑμᾶς πανταχοῖ πρέσβεις πέμψαι

Lys. 13. 82 εἴ τις αὐτὸν ταξίαρχος εἰς τάξιν τινὰ κατέταξε: Herod. 9. 21 ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν; infr. 29 εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε. Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 8; ib. § 11. Bekk. st. and Vöm. om. εἰς with S which gives an equally legitimate construction; Eur. *Suppl.* 657 δέξιον τεταγμένοι κέρας: Aesch. 3. 7 τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν, ἣν ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ: Pl. *Phaedr.* 247 a. κατὰ τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστος ἐτάχθη: Lob. *Paralip. Graec.* p. 517. But as it is in all the other MSS. and its omission was probably due to a wish to avoid the hiatus, I follow Sh. in retaining it. With the expression comp. 18. 62 ὁ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα ταξας τῆς πολιτείας: 15. 32; 18. 138 and 292 τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κρινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μέρει τετάχθαι.

ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ π.] Cf. infr. on § 20.

ἐν ἀρχῇ] repeating τὸ πρῶτον, 'at the outset,' 'his early acts and speeches.'

§ 10. **ἔστι τοίνυν**] 'He then (commencing an exposition, as infr. 121. 203 and *passim*) is the first Athenian who perceived...who having Ischander, the son of Neoptolemus, to play the second part to him, came before the Council and also before the people and persuaded you...who after that on his return from Arcadia reported those fine long harangues...and detailed...'

Ἴσχανδρον] the order of the words seems to favour the sense given above. Dobree's 'I. of N.'s company,' and Taylor's 'the servant or assistant of N.', are not, I think, legitimate ellipses. Ischander is said in § 303 to have come with Aeschines from the party in Arcadia favourable to Athens. Photius says he was a player, on what evidence does not appear; and Harpocr. s. v. says δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ συνυποκρινόμενος Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν Κολλυτῷ καταπεσεῖν, καθά φησι Δημοχάρης ἐν τοῖς Διαλόγοις. It is likely enough that he followed his father's profession and had been in Arcadia fulfilling some professional engagement, but δευτεραγωνιστὴς is obviously a hit at Aeschines' former profession. Dem. alludes to Aeschines' mission to Arcadia and the language he used about Philip again in § 302 sq.

πανταχοῖ] S and L; πανταχοῦ F, Ω; πανταχῇ Υ, which last Sh. is inclined to prefer, as a prose writer would rather have said πανταχόσε than πανταχοῖ. But the latter, according to the best MSS., is the predominant form in Demosthenes: cf. 4. 24 πανταχοῖ...οἴχεται πλέοντα: 8. 76; 9. 71 ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ (vulg. -χοῦ); 50. 52. So οὐδαμοῖ 23, 166, where the MSS. vary, as here, between -μοῖ, -μοῦ and -μῇ; 52. 21; (but infr. 160; 51. 13 οὐδαμόσε); 50. 6 ἑκασταχοῖ. πανταχόσε occurs in 56. 23; πολλαχόσε in 23. 152. In Ps. Dem. 7. 10, where Vöm. with S reads πολλάκις

τοὺς συνάξοντας δεῦρο τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ πρὸς
11 Φίλιππον πολέμου, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων μετὰ ταῦθ' ἥκων
ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακροὺς λόγους, οἷς
ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ὑπὲρ
Φιλίππου λέγοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔφη δεδημηγορηκέναι, καὶ
διεξιὼν ἡλίκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν, οὐχὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἀδικοῦσι
μόνον πατρίδας οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνον-
12 τες παρὰ Φιλίππου. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα πολιτευομένου
τούτου τότε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δεῖγμα ἐξενηνοχότος περὶ αὑτοῦ,
τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις πέμπειν ὡς Φίλιππον
ἐπείσθητε ὑπ' Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ Κτησι-
φῶντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγγελλόντων οὐδ'

πανταχόσε Bekk. st. has πανταχῶς. For πανταχοῦ we have in § 304 the more rhetorical μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν.

§ 11. **ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις**] The supreme Council of the Arcadian body. Thirl. 5. p. 88. Hieronymus, the leader of the Philippizing party, is one of the traitors mentioned in 18. 295. No doubt he made effective use against Aeschines of the refusal of the Athenians to help the Megalopolitans when they applied to them for aid against the aggressions of Sparta ten years before, B.C. 353. Dem. on that occasion advocated the interference of Athens in a speech still extant.

οἱ δ. καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντες] 'who take presents and money from P.' Cobet (Hyper. *Fun. Orat.* p. 39), needlessly taking offence at this fulness of expression which comes from the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός (Cf. Hyper. *pr. Eux.* col. 39 τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἔγραψα δικαίαν καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ῥήτορα ὄντα λέγειν μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων χρήματα λαμβάνοντα καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τἀναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ: infr. 101 ἀργύριον λαβὼν καὶ δῶρα: supr. 8 δῶρα καὶ μισθοὺς εἰληφότα), condemns καὶ χρ. λαμβάνοντες. Similarly he rejects the last four words in 18. 45 δωροδοκούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, as also πράγματα καὶ in 5. 3, τὰ πράγματα καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλεύεσθε. But his argument is uncritical as proving too much, for it would require, if carried out to its legitimate conclusion, the arbitrary alteration of countless passages in which the orators, especially Demosthenes, use similar rhetorical enlargements in order to gain breadth and fulness of style. Cf. n. to 2. 9.

§ 12. **τὸ δεῖγμα**...] 'Such being his political views, such the specimen he had put out of himself, when...;' 2. 20; 18. 291 δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ; 23. 175; Arist. *Ach.* 951. The phrase is derived from the 'samples' of their wares (δείγματα) which the Ἔμποροι put out in the Bazaar (Δεῖγμα), which we see from Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 32 was close to the quays in the Piraeus. Hence the witticism in Arist. *Eq.* 979. Cf. Mr Sandys on Isocr. 1. 11.

Ἀριστοδήμου...] Cf. the introduction; Grote, 11. 517 sq. In 18. 20 Dem., agreeably to his purpose there, represents the people as induced to listen to the overtures of Philip and conclude peace by a just indignation at not being supported by the Greeks in the war they were waging ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων. From Aeschines (2. 17) we learn that Dem. who was a member of the Senate at the time, proposed to crown Aristodemus for the valuable service he had rendered to the state.

ὁτιοῦν ὑγιές, γίγνεται τῶν πρέσβεων τούτων εἷς καὶ οὗτος, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἀποδωσομένων τὰ ὑμέτερα οὐδ' ὡς τῶν πεπιστευκότων τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν φυλαξόντων τοὺς ἄλλους· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπέχθειαν ταύτην εἰκότως περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντες
13 εἴχετε τὴν δόξαν. προσελθὼν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνετάττετο κοινῇ πρεσβεύειν, καὶ ὅπως τὸν μιαρὸν καὶ 345
ἀναιδῆ φυλάξομεν ἀμφότεροι, τὸν Φιλοκράτην, πολλὰ παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ γοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐλάνθανεν. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν,

οὐχ ὡς...ἀλλ' ὡς] 'not as (supr. *ὡς εἰδότων*) one of those who would sell your interests or as one of those who had put confidence in (trusted) Philip, but as one of those who would watch the rest.' This is an instance of the figure *κατὰ ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν*, as it is called (*Rhett. Gr.* 2. p. 129 Spengel), '*ὅπερ συνίσταται ἐκ τῆς οὐ καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας αὐτῇ καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἀλλὰ συνδέσμου.*' This in its simplest form is common in the older writers (e. g. Thuc. 1. 69 *φανερῶς μὲν οὐ...κρύφα δέ*: Antiph. 1. *β*. 3 *ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἀπεικὸς, ἀλλὰ εἰκός*), the emphasis falling on the positive statement. In the Orators it is often found in a more extended form, *οὐχ ἵν'...ἀλλ' ἵνα...*; 9. 41; infr. 51; 23. 93; Ps. Dem. 53. 18. We have the reverse case to this in § 3 *φράσω...καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι*: infr. 99 *εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ οὐ φθονερῶς*: 18. 265 *πρᾴως μὴ πικρῶς*: 6. 31 *note*. The first embassy left Athens about Dec. B.C. 347, and returned in the following March. Grote, 11. 527 sq.

τὴν πρὸς...ἀπέχθειαν] 'his declared hostility to Philip.' The words *might* also mean 'the hostility with which P. regarded him:' cf. infr. 85 *note*.

ὅπως φ....παρεκελεύσατο] Madv. 123: Goodwin 45; 'arranged that we should act on the Embassy together and strongly urged that we should both watch that shameless profligate, Philocrates.' Aeschines in his reply (2. 20) urges the improbability of this from the relations that subsisted between Philocrates and Demosthenes, who was proposed as ambassador by Philocrates and had just before defended him when brought to trial by Lycinus on a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for his decree (Aesch. 3. 62). In 3. 64, he makes the preposterous statement that Dem. and Philocrates acted in concert on the embassy and were throughout banded together to promote the interest of Philip.

δ. καὶ πεπρακὼς ἑαυτὸν is somewhat of a *hysteron proteron*, the point most material for the matter in hand and involving the other being stated first. Cf. infr. 50. 'I at any rate never discovered that he was corrupted and had sold himself,' in the reverse order to 9. 45 *ὠνεῖται καὶ διαφθείρει* 'buys and so corrupts.' Cf. Aesch. 2. 123. For *τῇ προτέρᾳ* S has *τῇ προτεραίᾳ*, which might have stood with *ἐκκλησίᾳ*. Thuc. 1. 44 *γενομένης καὶ δὶς ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ...ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ* i.e. that held on the next day. Thuc. 5. 46. In Aesch. 2. 63 the MSS. have *τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν... τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ*, for which Schultz and Franke adopt Bekker's conj. *ὑστέρᾳ*. For the *dat.* without *ἐν* cf. infr. 149.

ὅπερ εἶπον, εἰρήκει πρότερον, ἀναστὰς τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν αἷς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε, ἤρξατο ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἶμαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷσπερ
14 οὗτος εἶπεν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπομνημονεύσειν. "εἰ πάνυ πολύν" ἔφη "χρόνον ἐσκόπει Φιλοκράτης, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πῶς ἂν ἄριστα ἐναντιωθείη τῇ εἰρήνῃ, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἄμεινον εὑρεῖν οἶμαι ἢ τοιαῦτα γράφοντα. ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἂν εἷς Ἀθηναίων λείπηται, οὐδέποτ' ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ πόλει, εἰρήνην μέντοι φημὶ
15 δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι." καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς εἶπε βραχεῖς καὶ μετρίους λόγους. ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τῇ προτεραίᾳ πάντων ἀκουόντων ὑμῶν, εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔδει κυροῦσθαι, ἐμοῦ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων συνηγοροῦντος δόγματι

καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι] i. e. not merely the substance of his exordium but the very words he used; 'he began his speech by saying,—I think I can repeat the very words he used.'

ἐν ὑμῖν] 'in the assembly,' 'in addressing you.' So παρ' ὑμῖν; Aesch. 2. 44 τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι παρ' ὑμῖν λόγων ὑμεῖς ἀκηκόατε.

§ 14. **εἰ πάνυ...**] Comp. the very similar language in 9. 1.

ἐσκόπει...πῶς (preserved from the *or. rect.*) **ἂν**] Madv. 123. r. 3 and 137. Not unfrequently we find such an opt. combined with a subjunctive, as in Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 1 ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ...βαρὺς εἴη...μηδ' αὖ...κακουργῇ. 'If Ph. had been considering how he might best oppose the peace I do not think he could have found a better way than by making such a motion as this.'

ταύτην] emphatic, '*this* peace;' n. to 2. 3 διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων: 9. 18 εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱστάντα 'such an engine as this.'

§ 15. **εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν**] 'on the first day...on the next;' 4. 34 *note.*

τῷ τῶν σ....δόγματι] This resolution of the Allies, also called τὸ τῶν συνέδρων δόγμα, i.e. of the deputies from the allied cities, is given by Aeschines in his reply, 2. 60. It proposed that on the return of the envoys which had been sent out παρακαλεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the Prytanes should convene two assemblies in which the Athenians should decide about peace with Philip, and their decision should be considered as κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων; hence infr. 178 τῇ...τῶν συμμάχων...εἰρήνῃ. In 3. 70 Aesch. tells us that it also contained the important article that any Greek city not a party to the peace might during the following three months, declare its adhesion to it and be included on the same terms as the rest. This he says was done to obviate the effects of the treason of Dem. who, because he and Philocrates had been bribed by Philip, moved that without waiting for the Envoys they should at once deliberate about peace and alliance with Philip, thus depriving Athens of the chance of acting in co-operation with the rest of the Greeks. But this is an empty flourish; his own failure on his mission and the cold reception the Envoys met with almost everywhere had clearly shown that Athens must look for no such support. And Aesch. in justifying his change of

καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία γένηται, πράττοντος,
καὶ ὑμῶν βουλομένων ταῦτα καὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἐθελόντων
ἀκούειν τοῦ καταπτύστου Φιλοκράτους, ἀναστὰς ἐδημηγόρει
καὶ συνηγόρει ἐκείνῳ πολλῶν ἀξίους, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί,
16 θανάτων λόγους, ὡς οὔτε τῶν προγόνων ὑμᾶς μεμνῆσθαι
δέοι οὔτε τῶν τὰ τρόπαια καὶ τὰς ναυμαχίας λεγόντων
ἀνέχεσθαι, νόμον τε θήσειν καὶ γράψειν μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ὑμᾶς βοηθεῖν, ὃς ἂν μὴ πρότερος βεβοηθηκὼς ὑμῖν
ᾖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ σχέτλιος καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὗτος ἐτόλμα λέγειν 346
ἐφεστηκότων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἀκουόντων, οὓς ἀπὸ τῶν

opinion expressly says (2. 79) that he was led to advocate peace because none of the Greeks could be induced to join them. Cf. Grote, 11. 539.

In **τὴν εἰρήνην** the subject of the dependent clause is drawn into the principal sentence as object, as so often after *αἰσθάνομαι*, *ὁράω* (infr. 48), *γιγνώσκω* and the like. Madv. 191: 'was exerting myself—was labouring to make the peace just and equitable.' For the subj. *γένηται* Madv. 123, 132 *b*.

συνηγόρει λόγους] Madv. 26. r. 3; 'spoke in support of him words worthy of many deaths.' According to Aesch. 2. 63 sq. the decree of Demosthenes did not allow speaking on the second day. But in direct contradiction to this he says in 3. 71 that on the second day Dem. occupied the bema *οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον*. See Grote, 11. 543.

§ 16. **τῶν...ἀνέχεσθαι**] 'put up with, tolerate those who talked of;' infr. 78 *note*. Dem. refers to this point again in § 313.

νόμον...] 'and that he would pass a law and move that you should succour no one of the Greeks who had not previously succoured you.' In § 307 he represents him as proposing '*μηδὲ βοηθεῖν μηδενί*, without any such reservation.' On the subj. cf. Goodwin, 18. 1, who however is wrong in thinking (27. n. 2. a) the construction to be *δεῖ θήσειν*.

μήδενι τῶν Ἑ.] infr. 50 *οὐδενὸς δ' ἄλλου...τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων πλὴν Θετταλῶν*, and 62: 5. 14 *Θετταλοὶ... Ἀργεῖοι...Θηβαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν οἴομαι τούτων οὐδένα πολεμῆσαι*. From his correcting 18. 23, and 304, Cobet would probably object to the singular in the passages quoted. But cf. 1. 19 *note*. Dem. here, there is little doubt, misrepresents his rival. It is in the highest degree improbable that Aesch. would oppose himself to the most cherished sentiments of the people in so abrupt a way. We may believe him when he says (2. 74 sq.), that when *οἱ συντεταγμένοι ῥήτορες* only bade the people look at the Propylaea, and remember the battles of Salamis, &c., he told them they ought indeed to remember the glories of their forefathers, but beware of their errors and *τὴν ἄκαιρον φιλονεικίαν* which led to the Sicilian expedition and made them reject the overtures of Sparta when no longer able to carry on the contest.

τῶν...πρέσβεων] 'in the presence and hearing of the envoys.' Here again the Orators directly contradict each other. Aeschines (2. 59) challenges his adversary to name any city from which envoys were present, and to call those of the citizens who had gone out to the various cities to testify that they had returned from their various missions, which by the way is hardly consistent with what he says of the reasons which induced

Ἑλλήνων μετεπέμψασθε ὑπὸ τούτου πεισθέντες, ὅτ' οὔπω πεπρακὼς αὐτὸν ἦν.

17 Ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτὸν πάλιν τούς τε χρόνους κατέτριψε καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντ' ἐλυμήνατο τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὅσαι περὶ τούτων ἐμοὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπέχθειαι συνέβησαν βουλομένῳ κωλύειν, αὐτίκα ἀκούσεσθε. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἥκομεν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, ἥσπερ εἰσὶν αἱ νῦν εὔθυναι, οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν εὑρημένοι τῶν ὅτε τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε λεχθέντων καὶ προσδοκηθέντων, ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἐξηπατημένοι, καὶ

him to advocate peace (supr. on § 15). Dem. indeed says in 18. 23 οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, as they had all been tested before. But the words that follow show that there lies an evasion in τότε. If Athens, he argues, had sent out envoys for such a purpose while negotiating with Philip Εὐρυβάτου πράγμα οὐ πόλεως οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. But they were χρηστοὶ and incapable of such a thing. What could they think then of Aeschines who had represented them as acting in a manner so unworthy of Athens? It suited his purpose therefore to suppress the fact that envoys had been sent out before the negotiations began, who can hardly be supposed to have in every case returned home, till the decision arrived at about the peace rendered their recall necessary. At the same time it is highly improbable that they had in no case returned or that they had in every case been unsuccessful. Curiosity if nothing else might bring some. The truth therefore seems to lie midway between the opposite assertions. Cf. Grote, II. 540.

§§ 17—24. *When we returned disappointed in the expectations with which we had concluded the peace, I detailed all the circumstances to the council, pointed out to them the critical position into which their envoys had brought the state and urged them to take steps to avert the peril. They agreed with me. But Ae. in the assembly carried you away by the catalogue of splendid advantages you were to receive, so that I was naturally unable to obtain a hearing and had to content myself with a protest.*

§ 17. **ὃν μὲν οὖν (τοίνυν)**] a very common form of 'transitio,' particularly after some document has been put in and read; infr. 52; 62; 155; 171; 173, and *passim*.

ἐπὶ τούς...] 'after you had elected him to take the oaths;' infr. 94; 6. 29. Cf. 20. 90 τοὺς...θεσμοθετὰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους κληρουμένους: Dem. 3. 2 στρατηγὸς...ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν...κεχειροτονημένος; Aesch. 3. 25 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι.

ἀπέχθειαι] in the plural, as they happened at various times and for various reasons.

ἥκομεν] 'when we had returned (infr. 60; 1. 8) from that embassy for the oaths, the same which forms the subject of the present audit.' This was the second embassy which left Athens on the third of Munychion (April), peace having been concluded in March.

εὑρημένοι] infr. 69: 'having obtained,' 'secured not a particle small or great.' ἕτερ', i.e. than they were directed to do, as explained by the words that follow; 'having again overstepped their duty as ambassadors and acted in violation of your instructions.'

τούτων ἕτερ' αὖθις αὖ πεπραχότων καὶ παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα
18 πεπρεσβευκότων, προσῆμεν τῇ βουλῇ. καὶ ταυτὶ πολλοὶ συνίσασιν ἃ μέλλω λέγειν· τὸ γὰρ βουλευτήριον μεστὸν ἦν ἰδιωτῶν. παρελθὼν δ' ἐγὼ πάντα τἀληθῆ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπήγγειλα, καὶ κατηγόρησα τούτων, καὶ ἀνηριθμησάμην ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐλπίδων ἐκείνων ὧν ὁ Κτησιφῶν καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ἀπήγγειλαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὅτε τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἃ οὗτος ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ εἰς ἃ προήχασι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων (ταῦτα δ' ἦν Φωκεῖς καὶ Πύλαι) μὴ προέσθαι συνεβούλευον, μηδὲ ταὐτὰ παθεῖν, μηδ' ἀναρτωμένους ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων καὶ ὑπο-
19 σχέσεσιν εἰς τοὔσχατον ἐλθεῖν τὰ πράγματ' ἐᾶσαι. καὶ 347
ἔπεισα ταῦτα τὴν βουλήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἧκεν ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔδει λέγειν, παρελθὼν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσὶ πρῶτος ἡμῶν ἁπάντων (καὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν πειρᾶσθε συνδια-

προσῆμεν] Cf. Veitch, *Gr. Verbs*, p. 199.

§ 18. **συνίσασιν**] Here, as often, without a dative in the sense of *personal knowledge* or *observation* as opposed to information obtained by hearsay. Thuc. 1. 73 *τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τὶ δεῖ λέγειν, ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες...τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε.* Dem. 20. 13 *οὐκ οἶδ'* (= *οἶδ' ἀκούων* 'have heard') *οὐδὲ λέγω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σύνοιδα*: *Oed. Tyr.* 704 *αὐτὸς ξυνειδὼς ἢ μαθὼν ἄλλων πάρα.*

ἰδιωτῶν] our 'strangers')(members of the council. In 22. 37, the word is used differently. There *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς* = '*the ordinary*' as opposed to the '*speaking members*' of the previous sentence. As a general rule the sittings of the Council were open to strangers. If secresy was desired, they were ordered to withdraw (Aesch. 3. 125 *εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας*; Ps. Dem. 25. 23 *ἅμα τῷ τὸν ὑπηρέτην εἰπεῖν 'μετάστητε ἔξω'*), and kept excluded by a *κιγκλίς*. Ps. Dem. 25. 23 *τὸ τὴν βουλὴν... ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενοῦς ταυτησὶ κιγκλίδος τῶν ἀπορρήτων κυρίαν εἶναι καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπεισιέναι.* For the general use of the word see Mr Sandys on Isocr. 4. 44.

ὧν...ἀπήγγειλαν] There is no reason for diluting the expression by tr. 'hopes which they created by their reports.' The hopes were the matter of the reports: 'I reckoned up everything from those first hopes K. and A. reported to you.' Cf. inf. 121 *ταῖς...ἐλπίσι ταύταις αἷς οὗτος ὑπέσχητο*: Aesch. 3. 91 *φέροντας...τῷ δήμῳ ἐλπίδας κενάς*: Dem. 6. 28 *τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις*: 5. 10 *Πλαταιὰς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθήσεσθαι...καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμούς*: *Oed. Tyr.* 917 *ἢν φόβους λέγῃ.*

προήχασι] Cf. Veitch, *Gr. Verbs*, s. v. *ἄγω*. For the aorist and perfect in the *or. obl.* Madv. 132.

Φ. καὶ Πύλαι] 6. 30 *προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἴων προέσθαι Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας*; 5. 10; 18. 31 sq. He dwells on their importance below, §§ 99, 113, 180.

ἀναρτωμένους] 'and not commit the same blunder—not hang upon hopes after hopes and promises till we let things come to an extremity.' *ταὐτά*, i. e. as we did by believing the hopes and promises brought by Ktesiphon and Aristodemus.

μνημονεύειν ἂν ἀληθῆ λέγω· τὰ γὰρ πάντα τὰ πράγματα λυμηνάμενα ὑμῶν καὶ διαφθείραντα ὅλως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη) τοῦ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τι τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντων, εἰ ὅρα ἠμφισβήτει μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐμέ, μνησθῆναι πάμπληθες ἀπέσχεν, εἶπε δὲ τοιούτους λόγους καὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔχοντας ἀγαθὰ ὥσθ' ἅπαν-
20 *τας ὑμᾶς λαβὼν ᾤχετο. ἔφη γὰρ ἥκειν πεπεικὼς Φίλιππον ἅπανθ' ὅσα συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον μακρὸν ὑμῖν ὃν κατὰ Θηβαίων εἰπεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔφη, καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀπελογίζετο ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῷ πεπρεσβευμένων δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑμᾶς,*

§ 19. **πρὸς Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν**] Cf. infr. 78.

συνδιαμνημονεύειν] 'to recollect, as I proceed.' Aesch. 1. 18 *κἀκεῖνα δέ μοι συνδιαμνημονεύσατε.*

ἤδη] at the end of the sentence, as in 179; 2. 27; 4. 8; 6. 53; 'for we are *now* come to what marred and utterly ruined all our affairs;' or, as K. 'for what...is just this.' Jam is similarly used in Latin: Lucr. 1. 600, 'quod nostri cernere sensus jam nequeant;' ib. 624, 'quae nullis jam praedita partibus extant.' For the corresponding use of *οὐκέτι* in negative sentences infr. 71.

τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων] infr. 20 *τῶν αὐτῷ πεπρεσβευμένων*: 240 *note*: Madv. 27; 'our proceedings on the embassy.'

ἠμφισβήτει] libri, Bekk. st., Sh.; *ἠμφεσβήτει* Vöm., following Cobet, *N. Lect.* p. 157. Cf. Veitch, s. v.

τοῦ μέν...ἀπέσχεν] Cf. infr. 26.

μή] Madv. 210. The adverb *πάμπληθες* 'completely,' 'altogether,' does not seem to be found elsewhere in Classical Greek.

εἶπε δέ] 'made statements holding out such splendid advantages that he carried you all away with him.' The natural order would be *τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα*; but as here infr. 24; 21. 96; Pl. *Gorg.* 456 c *ἡ...δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐστὶ καὶ τοιαύτη τῆς τέχνης.*

§ 20.] *ἃ. συμφέρει* absolutely, as 20. 51 *οἱ...πάρεσχον, καὶ λέγοντες ἃ συμφέρει* (= *τὰ συμφέροντα*) *τῇ πόλει ...καὶ πράττοντες*, where Bekker needlessly conj. *ἃ συμφέροι*: 22. 66 *οὐδ' ἀγανακτῶν ὤφθης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ πόλις πάσχει.* 'Said he had won over P. entirely to our interest, both about the Amphictyonic question and all others.' Grote, 11. 563 and 572.

κατὰ Θ.] Aesch. refers to this in 2. 119 *ἐγὼ γὰρ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ μὲν ὧν ἠξίωσα* (because he felt that this was according to the wishes of the people, though they had not thought it right to mention the matter in their instructions, § 104) *πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς ἥκων ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι τὰς Θήβας Βοιωτίαν ἡγοίμην δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ μὴ τὴν Βοιωτίαν Θήβας* (§ 116). *τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσθαι μέ φησιν.*

τῶν αὐτῷ π.] Madv. 38 g. His observation 'that *sometimes* the dative of the agent stands with passive verbs instead of *ὑπὸ* with the genitive' may mislead the young student. The dative is the *usual* construction with the perfect and pluperfect pass. (indic. and participle). *ὑπὸ* with the gen. is found some eleven times in this speech and the *De Coronâ;* with the dative at least forty times; and the proportion is, I believe, the same in other speeches. 'He reported to you the heads of it and computed that as the result of his exertions as ambassador...'

μένοντας οἴκοι καὶ οὐ στρατευομένους οὐδ' ἐνοχλουμένους,
Θήβας μὲν πολιορκουμένας αὐτὰς καθ' αὑτὰς χωρὶς τῆς
21 ἄλλης Βοιωτίας ἀκούσεσθαι, Θεσπιὰς δὲ καὶ Πλαταιὰς
οἰκιζομένας, τῷ θεῷ δὲ τὰ χρήματα εἰσπραττόμενα οὐ παρὰ
Φωκέων ἀλλὰ παρὰ Θηβαίων τῶν βουλευσάντων τὴν κατά-
ληψιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· διδάσκειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφη τὸν Φίλιππον
ὅτι οὐδὲν ἧττον ἠσεβήκασιν οἱ βεβουλευκότες τῶν ταῖς
χερσὶ πραξάντων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα χρήμαθ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς
22 Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι. ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων
ἐνίων ἔφη πεφοβημένων καὶ τεταραγμένων τὴν πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν οἰκειότητα Φιλίππῳ γεγενημένην, ὅτι οὐ λελήθατε
ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς πεποίησθε τὴν εἰρήνην 348
πρὸς Φίλιππον, οὐδ' ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν

§ 21. **Θ. καὶ Πλαταιάς**] Cf. 5. 10; 6. 30. The re-establishment of these towns, which had been destroyed by the Thebans about the summer of B.C. 374 (Grote, 10. 218), was greatly desired at Athens as tending to preserve the balance of power by impairing the strength of Thebes: 16. 4 *ὥστε Θηβαίους...Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ Θεσπιῶν καὶ Πλαταιῶν οἰκισθεισῶν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι* and ib. 25 sq.: 23. 102, quoted on § 64.

οἰκιζομένας) (*ἀνῃρημένας*: 16. 26 *ὅταν...τὰς μὲν οὔσας πόλεις ἐῶμεν ἀναιρεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀνῃρημένας ἀξιῶμεν οἰκίζειν.*

τῷ θεῷ...] Aeschines nowhere alludes to this in his account of what took place. Cf. Aesch. 2. 117 and 121 sq. It is referred to again infr. § 327.

ἐπικεκηρυχέναι] 'had set a price on his head;' infr. 127: Herod. 7. 213 *καὶ οἱ φυγόντι...ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη.* Lys. 6. 18 *ἐπικηρύττοντες τάλαντον ἀργυρίου δώσειν τῷ ἀπάγοντι ἢ ἀποκτείναντι.*

ἠσεβήκασιν] as *προήχασι* in § 18.

§ 22.] *ἀκούειν* is taken by Sch. and Sh. as the infinitive of the present, which is very frequently used, as our 'I am told,' in reference to matters of tradition or conversation more or less general; 3. 21 *note*. But as a particular conversation is here spoken of, I prefer to take it as representing *ἤκουον*, as in 1. 22 *ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγε τινῶν ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας...· ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι*: and 2. 17. And so *διδάσκειν* above.

τὴν...οἰκειότητα] The accusative naturally depends on the idea involved in the participle: cf. 2. 5 *ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους τὸν Φίλιππον*: infr. 81. Aeschines refers to this in 2. 120, where he says he told them that Cleochares of Chalcis expressed to him his surprise at the sudden understanding between Philip and Athens, as also at the clause in the envoys' instructions, '*πράττειν ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἂν δυνώμεθα*,' for '*τοὺς μικροπολίτας...ὥσπερ αὐτούς, φοβεῖν τὰ τῶν μειζόνων ἀπόρρητα.*' This he complains Dem. construed into a declaration on his part that Philip had promised to give up Euboea to them, '*ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπειλήφειν δεῖν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων μέλλουσαν βουλεύεσθαι μηδενὸς λόγου Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀνήκοον εἶναι.* But he takes a different line of defence in § 136 sq. of the same speech. Tr. 'he also said he had heard some of the E. who were frightened and alarmed at the connexion established between us and P. say...'. *ὅτι* prefacing the *or. rectа* as infr. 40. *πεποίησθε* in *middle* sense, as in §§ 54, 67, 298; 18. 201.

δεδώκατ' ἐκείνῳ, Φίλιππος δ' ὑμῖν Εὔβοιαν ὡμολόγηκε παραδώσειν. εἶναι μέντοι τι καὶ ἄλλο διῳκημένον αὐτῷ, οὐ μήν πω τοῦτο βούλεσθαι λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν φθονεῖν τινὰς αὐτῷ τῶν συμπρέσβεων. ὑπηνίττετο δ' οὕτω καὶ παρεδή-
23 λου τὸν Ὠρωπόν. εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰκότως, καὶ δοκῶν καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος εἶναι καὶ ἀνὴρ θαυμαστός, κατέβη μάλα σεμνῶς. ἀναστὰς δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτά τε οὐκ ἔφην εἰδέναι, καὶ ἐπειρώμην τι λέγειν τούτων ὧν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπήγγειλα. καὶ παραστὰς ὃ μὲν ἔνθεν ὃ δ' ἔνθεν, οὑτοσὶ καὶ Φιλοκράτης, ἐβόων, ἐξέκρουόν με, τελευτῶντες

οὐ...πω] 1. 9 *note*, 'there was however another matter arranged by him, but he did not want to mention just yet what it was.'

ὑπηνίττετο...παρεδήλου] 'he alluded to and hinted at Oropus.' Sch. quotes Plutarch, *de lib. educ.* c. 13 *μητέρα τῶν Μουσῶν εἶναι τὴν Μνημοσύνην αἰνιττόμενοι καὶ παραδηλοῦντες*; cf. also Paus. 5. 3. 11 *ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἠλείων*. *Oropus*, originally Boeotian (Thuc. 4. 95 *ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ... ἐν τῇ τούτων*, i. e. the Boeotians. The Athenians were at the time *μάλιστα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ὠρωπίας*), and never apparently incorporated as a Deme (Thuc. 2. 23 *νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι*), though it would seem some of its citizens were members of the neighbouring Deme Graea, had long been a bone of contention between Athens and Thebes. After being taken and retaken more than once, it was wrested from Athens B.C. 366 by a party of exiles, the partizans of Thebes, who crossed over from Euboea, aided by Themison the tyrant of Eretria (18. 99). Upon the Athenians marching out with all their forces to recover the place, it was occupied by the Thebans and secured against attack, the Athenians submitting to the occupation on the understanding that the right to the place should be referred to arbitration (Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 1 *ἀνεχώρησαν* (the Athenians) *Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης*), which of course the Thebans had not yet seen fit to carry out. Wounded national pride at the loss of territory, and their hatred of Thebes made this a very captivating promise: infr. 326; 5. 10 *καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν*: 6. 30 *Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει*. In the latter passage a promise not mentioned here or in the speech *De Pace* is *Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει*. With the passage we may compare what Theramenes says in Lysias, 12. 68 *φάσκων πρᾶγμα εὑρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον...τοῦτο δ' εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἠθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν*.

§ 23. **εὐδοκιμῶν**] 'naturally raised in your opinion by all this...he stepped down with a very majestic air.' The word is often used, as here, of orators. Arist. *Vesp.* 1031; Ps. Dem. 7. 20 *εὐδοκίμησεν...ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν*: 5. 2 *εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ δοκῶν εὖ λεγειν*. 'Επί is used as in the common expressions *θαυμάζεσθαι ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ*; *δόξαν ἔχειν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ*.

εἰς τὴν β...] 'I reported to the Council.' Aesch. 3. 45 *εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι*: Dem. 18. 173 *παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς*: 24. 47 *οὐκ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰπὼν περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδέν*: infr. 117.

ἐξέκρουον...] 'shouted, kept interrupting, at least mocked me.' Sch. is quite wrong in understanding *ἐξέκρουον* as = the *ἐξέκλειον λόγου τυγχάνειν* of § 26. This in the case

ἐχλεύαζον. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐγελᾶτε, καὶ οὔτ' ἀκούειν ἠθέλετε οὔτε
24 πιστεύειν ἐβούλεσθε ἄλλα πλὴν ἃ οὗτος ἀπηγγέλκει. καὶ
νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰκός τι παθεῖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖτε· τίς γὰρ ἂν
ἠνέσχετο, τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἀγα-
θά, ἢ ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἔσται λέγοντός τινος, ἢ κατηγοροῦντος
τῶν πεπραγμένων τούτοις; πάντα γὰρ τἄλλ', οἶμαι, τότε
δεύτερα ἦν τῶν ὑποκειμένων προσδοκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων,
οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες ὄχλος ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφαίνετο,
ταῦτα δὲ θαυμάσι' ἡλίκα καὶ συμφέροντ' ἐδόκει πεπρᾶχθαι
τῇ πόλει.

25 Τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑπέμνησα πρῶτα νῦν ὑμᾶς καὶ δι-
εξῆλθον τούτους τοὺς λόγους; ἑνὸς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, μάλιστά καὶ πρώτου, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἐπειδάν τι λέ-

before us was the result of ἐβόων and not a part of what they did. The meaning is plainly the same as in the well-known passages Arist. *Ach.* 38 βοᾶν, ὑποκρούειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας: *Eccles.* 588 μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀντείπῃ μηδ' ὑποκρούσῃ. Aeschinès ridicules this statement and asks (2. 121) if ever an instance was known of an envoy who was prevented from making a report to the people. He then turns round on his adversary and declares that he called on him and the other envoys to say whether he was faithfully reporting what he had said to Philip and that D. confirmed his statement, adding the complimentary remark that he had spoken twice as well at Pella.

ἠθέλετε...ἐβούλεσθε] 'were neither willing to hear nor wishful (disposed) to believe:' 1. 1 *note*: Donald. *New Cratyl.* § 463.

§ 24. **παθεῖν**] The aorist inf. is here clearly a *praeteritum*. Madv. 172; Goodwin, § 23. 2. In his 'Bemerkungen' p. 32, Madvig quotes Thuc. 1. 41 ἡ ἐς Σαμίους [εὐεργεσία], τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι: Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 1; Dem. 8. 65 τῷ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι: Arist. *Nub.* 268, and other passages.

τ. καὶ τοσαῦτα] supr. § 19.

τούτοις] 'by these men,' Aeschines and his associates; supr. § 20.

οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες] 'for everything else, I suppose, at that time was secondary to the expectations and the promises put before you, and opposition (οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες being, as K. observes, virtually the same as τὸ ἀντιλέγειν) looked like pure annoyance and spite, while those results which had been achieved for the state seemed marvellously great and advantageous.' On the repeated article τῶν...τῶν cf. notes on 1. 25; 2. 9. For ἄλλως see L. and S. s. v. and comp. 35. 25 ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τὴν συγγραφὴν ἄλλως ὕθλον καὶ φλυαρίαν.

θαυμάσι' ἡλίκα] infr. § 87.

§§ 25—28. *I mention this now mainly in order to clear myself, and to show that if the direct opposite of what he promised has come to pass, it was because he had sold himself to Philip.*

§ 25. **ὑπέμνησα**] infr. 177 *note*.

ἑνὸς καὶ πρώτου] 'for one especially, and that the first;' 'why then have I begun by reminding you of these things and going over these speeches? First and principally, that...'

γοντος ἀκούῃ μου τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ δοκῇ δεινὸν αὐτῷ 349
καὶ ὑπερβάλλον εἶναι, "εἶτα τότ' οὐκ ἔλεγες παραχρῆμα
26 ταῦτα οὐδ' ἐδίδασκες ἡμᾶς;" θαυμάζῃ, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένοι
τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τὰς τούτων, ἃς ἐφ' ἑκάστων ποιούμενοι τῶν
καιρῶν ἐξέκλειον λόγου τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ τὴν
ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν τούτου ταύτην τὴν καλήν, εἰδῆθ' ὅτι πρὸς
ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτο ἠδίκησθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τἀ-
ληθῆ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡνίκ' ἔδει πυνθάνεσθαι διεκωλύθη-
27 τε ἐλπίσι καὶ φενακισμοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν. πρώτου μὲν
τούτου καὶ μάλισθ', οὗπερ εἶπον, ἕνεκα ταῦτα διεξῆλθον,

εἶτα...] 18. 117 *εἶτα παρὼν...οὐ κατηγόρεις*; 22. 66 where a similar objection is urged against Androtion. Cf. 1. 24 *note*. 'May exclaim in astonishment, Then did you not tell us all this at the instant and inform us?'

§ 26. *θαυμάζω* is here, as often, used in the sense of 'to express wonder,' 'to exclaim in astonishment.' So *ἀγανακτῶ* 'to complain,' *μισῶ* 'to attack,' 'utter invectives against.' Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 21 *ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐδεπώποτε ἀνέστης οὐδὲ λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσω, ἐνθάδε δὲ μισεῖς* 'Ολυμπιάδα. For *τότ'...παραχρῆμα* comp. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 14 *ἐθέλοντας...τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης*; Aesch. 2. 123 *τότ' ἐξελέγχειν εὐθύς*.

ἐφ' ἑ...τῶν καιρῶν] 'on each of the occasions that offered,' 'on every occasion' when you might have been enlightened.

τήν...τήν...] 'that splendid announcement of Aeschines.' For the repetition of the article cf. Thuc. 1. 108 *τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρά*, and 126 *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ*: Pl. *Symp.* 213 E *τὴν τούτου ταυτηνὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν κεφαλήν*: Ps. Dem. 49. 22 *τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Πειραιεῖ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἱπποδαμείᾳ*: *ib.* 61 *τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Πειραιεῖ τὴν τούτου*: Lys. 10. 15 *τούτους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος τοὺς παλαιούς*: Dem. 23. 189, *τοὺς Θρᾷκας τοὺς δύο τοὺς βασιλέας*. Madv. 10. r. 6.

§ 27. Observe the separation of *ἕνεκα* from its case. 20, 88 *οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ὅτι τοῦ παρακρούσασθαι καὶ φενακίσαι λέγεται παρ' ἡμῶν ἕνεκα*. After *ἐξέκλειον* and *διεκωλύθητε* we should have expected the Inf. with *μή*, according to Madv. 210. But *μή* is not unfrequently omitted after *εἴργω, ἀπείργω, ἴσχω* (infr. § 212 *note*), *ἀπέχω* (supr. § 19), and the like, and especially after *κωλύω*. Thuc. 6. 18; 7. 70; 4. 67 *κώλυμα οὖσα προσθεῖναι*. Antiph. ii. *β*. 7 *διακωλυθεὶς τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν*: ii. *γ*. 6 *οὐ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν ἐκωλύθη*: *ib.* § 8; infr. 49.

καί before *ἐλάττονος*, which Sch. wished to omit, Vöm. explains as answering to *μάλιστα* (§§ 25, 27), 'Der zweite Grund ist *auch* um nichts geringer.' It is rather to be considered an instance of its ordinary employment to mark the emphatic word or phrase of the sentence. Cf. Riddell *Digest of Platonic Idioms*, § 132. 'What was the second? Why, one of no less importance than the other, that...;' *τούτου* being assimilated to the preceding case, as is usual where *εἰμί* has to be understood, as in Thuc. 7. 77 *ἤθη τινὲς καὶ ἐκ δεινοτέρων ἢ τοιῶνδε ἐσώθησαν*, i.e. *ἢ τοιάδε ἐστίν*. *Il.* 1. 260 *καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν ἀνδρασιν ὡμίλησα*, i.e. *ἠέπερ ὑμεῖς ἐστε*; (exceptions occur now and then in the poets, *Il.* 10. 556 *ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἀμείνονας ἠέπερ οἶδε* (sc. *εἰσίν*) *ἵππους δωρήσαιτ'*.) If both members have the same verb it is not repeated, but the substantive or pronoun stands alone.

δευτέρου δὲ τίνος; καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἢ τούτου, ἵνα τὴν ὅτ' ἀδωροδόκητος ὑπῆρχε προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ἀναμνησθέντες, ὡς προβεβλημένη καὶ ἄπιστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξαίφνης γεγονυῖαν πίστιν καὶ
28 φιλίαν σκέψησθε, εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐκβέβηκεν ὅσ' ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὗτος καὶ καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πεπραγμένα, διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι νομίσητε, εἰ δὲ πάντα τἀναντία ὧν οὗτος εἶπε πέπρακται, καὶ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ταῦτ' ἔχει τῇ πόλει, διὰ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τἀληθῆ μεταβεβλημένον αὐτὸν εἰδῆτε.

29 Βούλομαι δ', ἐπειδήπερ εἰς τούτους προήχθην τοὺς λόγους, ὃν τρόπον τὰ περὶ τοὺς Φωκέας πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν

Dem. 18. 162 τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων: 18. 178 ὑμῶν ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προορωμένων. Madv. 89: Lob. *Phryn.* p. 755.

προαίρεσιν...τῆς π.] supr. § 9; 8. 69 τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται, 'remembering the line of politics he adopted, how guarded it was and mistrustful in its attitude towards Philip.' For the metaphor in προβεβλημένη cf. 4. 40.

πίστιν] Cf. § 12 τῶν πεπιστευκότων τῷ Φιλίππῳ.

§ 28. **εἶτ'.**] 'and then.' Madv. 185 a. r. 6. Cf. 1. 12: 2. 30: 3. 11.

νομίσητε...εἰδῆτε] The sense is, 'Then if all he reported to you has been verified, and what has been done is well, you may *suppose* it to have been the result of honest conviction and a regard for the interest of the state; but if the direct contrary of what he told you has come to pass, and if this is fraught with danger to Athens, you may *see* that the change in his sentiments is due to sordid avarice and his having sold the truth for money.'

ἔχει] 'has in it,' 'carries with it,' 'is fraught with.' 2. 3 ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν: Ps. Dem. 10. 45 ταῦτ' ἀπιστίαν, ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἔχει. In such passages ἔχω is sometimes wrongly explained to be = παρέχω. But Herm. *Vig.* p. 753, justly says, 'retinet vim suam, sic ut notet, conjunctum quid cum quo esse. Nam quod quis habet, id cum eo conjunctum est. Nullo enim modo fieri potest ut ἔχω idem sit quod παρέχω.'

χρημάτων is of course the *gen.* of *price:* infr. 119 ἀργυρίου πονηρός: 23. 205 οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τῶν ἔργων, 'did not barter to them for their achievements.'

§§ 29, 30. *It may seem exaggerated to accuse a man like Aeschines of bringing about such important results. He was enabled to do so as your representative. Philip was it is true the chief agent, but Ae. helped him.*

§ 29. **προήχθην**] infr. 177 *note.*

τὰ περὶ τοὺς Φ. πρ.] = τὰ Φωκικὰ πράγματα: 'the Phocian business:' τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων 6. 7. So 20. 157 οἱ περὶ ἀλλήλους φόνοι: infr. 76 τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου; Pl. *Phaedr.* 279 A κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν...λόγους 'the speeches of Lysias:' Antiph. 3. δ. 2 περὶ τὸν ἄρξαντα τῆς πληγῆς τὸ ἀδίκημα εἶναι, which is pretty nearly = τοῦ ἄρξοντας.

παρείλοντο πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἁπάντων. δεῖ δὲ μηδένα ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος βλέ- 350
ψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ὁρᾶν, ὅτι ὅντιν' ἂν ὑμεῖς εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε καὶ τῶν συμβάντων καιρῶν ἐποιησατε κύριον, οὗτος, εἴπερ ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐβουλήθη μισθώσας αὐτὸν ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς καὶ φενακίζειν, τῶν ἴσων αἴτιος ἦν
30 ἂν κακῶν ὅσωνπερ καὶ οὗτος· οὐ γὰρ εἰ φαύλοις χρῆσθ' ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πολλάκις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ πράγματ ἐστὶ φαῦλα ὧν ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῦται παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. εἶτα καὶ Φωκέας ἀπολώλεκε μέν, οἶμαι, Φίλιππος, συνηγωνίσαντο δὲ οὗτοι· τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ ὁρᾶν, εἰ ὅσα τῆς Φωκέων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἧκε,

τῆς τούτου δόξης] 'that the charges and accusations are too great for the reputation of the defendant.' Compare 18. 142, where he says that though there were documents in the public archives to prove what he said, and his hearers remembered the facts *ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων.* Aeschines (2. 9) comments on the inconsistency of Demosthenes' treatment of him, *ὃν δ' οὕτως ἀτιμάζει, πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅπου τύχοι, ὥσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνων...ἀνῃρηκέναι αἰτιᾶται με τὰς τῶν Φωκέων πόλεις,* and then after using this exaggerated language about him, *τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθεὶς τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς Φιλίππου.*

ὅντιν' ἂν κατεστήσατε] infr. § 172 *note:* Goodwin, 63. 2; 'but consider that any one whom you might have placed in (§ 9) that position (even one of lower reputation than Aeschines) and given the control of the times of crisis which occurred, that such person had he like Ae. sold his services and purposed to cheat and impose on you would have caused the same mischiefs as Ae. did. For it is not the case that because you often employ mean persons on the public service, the affairs of which Athens is thought worthy in the judgment of the world are mean also: quite the contrary.'

εἴπερ ὥσπερ] Such combinations though somewhat *κακόφωνα* to us do not seem to have given offence to Greek ears: 1. 2 *εἴπερ ὑπέρ...*; 1. 8 *ἥνπερ ὑπέρ*: Eur. *Iph. T.* 1309 *ἥμεν ἥμενοι*: Antiph. 5. 49 *ἐκ τοῖν λόγοιν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἑκατέροιν τοῖν βασανισθέντοιν*: Herod. 4. 22 *συνεχέες δὲ τούτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὔνομα κέεται Ἰῦρκαι*: Thuc. 8. 16 *Σαμίαν μίαν*: Lob. *Paral. Gr.* 1. p. 53; infr. 75.

§ 30. **οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ**] 9. 23 *note.*

ὅσα...ἧκε] *lit.* 'such matters affecting—pertaining to the saving of the Ph. as depended on;' 'whether such means of saving the Phocians as depended on the embassy.' 18. 303 *ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἧκεν*: Dein. 1. 113 *ὅσον εἰς τὸ μέρος τοὐμὸν τῆς κατηγορίας ἧκε. διέφθειραν* is attached to *ἀπώλεσαν* as a more special term: cf. 9. 31 *ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμήνατο*; infr. 90, 102, 287 *ἀπόλωλε καὶ ὕβρισται*; supr. 11. For *ἀπώλεσε* Vöm. reads *ἀπώλεσεν ἂν* with F, T, &c. and tr. 'quomodo iste (Ae.) Phocenses perdidisset solus.' But this misses the point of the passage.

ταῦθ' ἅπαντ' ἀπώλεσαν οὗτοι καὶ διέφθειραν ἑκόντες, οὐχ ὡς ὅδε Φωκέας ἀπώλεσε καθ' ἑαυτόν. πόθεν;

31 Δὸς δέ μοι τὸ προβούλευμα ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐψηφίσαθ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος αὐτὸ τότε, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ τότε σιγήσας νῦν ἀφίσταμαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κατηγόρουν καὶ προεώρων τὰ μέλλοντα, ἡ βουλὴ δὲ ἡ μὴ κωλυθεῖσα ἀκοῦσαι τἀληθῆ παρ' ἐμοῦ οὔτ' ἐπῄνεσε τούτους οὔτ' εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἠξίωσε καλέσαι. καίτοι τοῦτ', ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδεὶς πώποτέ φησι παθεῖν οὐδένας πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ Τιμαγόραν, οὗ θάνατον κατεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. ἀλλ' οὗτοι πεπόνθασιν.

32 Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν μαρτυρίαν, εἶτα τὸ προβούλευμα.

οὐχ ὡς ὅδε] Sh. now rightly retracts his former opinion that ὅδε means Philip. The context and the restrictive clause ὅσα...ἑκόντες show that Ae. is meant. The meaning is, 'Philip then has, I take it, ruined the Phocians, but those men cooperated with him. The question therefore before you is not that (ὡς) Ae. ruined Phocis by himself as Aeschines—that he of course neither did nor could: but whether (εἰ) he and his colleagues did not by their wilful and corrupt neglect of their duty as your envoys effectually help Philip to accomplish the ruin of your allies.' The antithesis is between Ae. καθ' ἑαυτόν, a poor creature, and Ae. capable of producing great results as the ambassador of Athens (τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβών 18. 149), and here, as often, spoken of as the representative and coryphaeus of the rest, all of them traitors and devoted to Philip.

§§ 31—33. *The preliminary resolution of the Council will show that I denounced them at once and that the Council after hearing me condemned them by withholding the customary marks of honour given to returning envoys.*

§ 31. **πρός**] 'passed on my report.' 6. 31 πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας...ἐψηφίσασθε.

ἀφίσταμαι] 'I am not now repudiating (infr. 46) acts I let pass in silence then.'

ἐπῄνεσε.] 'Voted them thanks,' a usual compliment: infr. 234: 18. 113 ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτόν...ἡ βουλή: 23. 187: Ps. Dem. 50. 13 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐπῄνεσέ τέ με καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐκάλεσεν.

οὐδένας πρέσβεις] 1. 19 *note:* 'yet such a thing is not recorded to have ever happened to any (set of) ambassadors since the foundation of the city.' Timagoras is mentioned again in §§ 137, 191, where it is said that he was impeached by Leon who had been his colleague. The charge brought against him by Leon was, that he had not only declined to associate with him during their journey, but had also lent himself to the designs of Pelopidas and taken large bribes from the king for treasonable promises he had made. On these charges he was condemned and executed. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 38. Grote, 10. 383.

κατεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δ.] Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. προβολή: infr. 279.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ. ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΕΥΜΑ.

Ἐνταῦθ' οὔτ' ἔπαινος οὔτε κλῆσις εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἔστι 351
τῶν πρέσβεων ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω
καὶ παρασχέσθω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ
μὲν τοίνυν ταὐτὰ ἅπαντες ἐπρεσβεύομεν, δικαίως οὐδένα
ἐπῄνεσεν ἡ βουλή· δεινὰ γὰρ τὰ πεπραγμένα πᾶσιν· εἰ δ'
οἱ μὲν τὰ δίκαια ἔπραττον ἡμῶν οἱ δὲ τἀναντία, διὰ τοὺς
πεπονηρευμένους, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι συμβεβηκὸς ἂν
33 εἴη ταύτης τῆς ἀτιμίας μετεσχηκέναι. πῶς οὖν ῥᾳδίως
πάντες εἴσεσθε τίς ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ πονηρός; ἀναμνήσθητε παρ'
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἐσθ' ὁ κατηγορῶν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξ
ἀρχῆς. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἠδικηκότι σιγᾶν ἐξήρκει καὶ
διακρουσαμένῳ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον μηκέτ' εἰς λόγον περὶ

§ 32. With παρασχέσθω I understand, not μάρτυρας, as Sh. but as with δειξάτω, ἔπαινον and κλῆσιν. In such a combination the ellipse of μάρτυρας is incredible: 'here is no vote of thanks or invitation of the ambassador to the town hall by the Council. If Ae. says there is, let him show and produce it, and I will sit down;' so that no more is meant than in 18. 112 εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. Aeschines answers the challenge by coolly asserting (2. 121), that Dem. himself moved a resolution thanking the envoys and inviting them to the town hall. But he does not back up his assertion by putting in the psephism or calling any witnesses. This matches well with his assertion that Dem. was throughout in the pay of Philip.

καταβαίνω] Madv. 110. r. 3. Aesch. 2. 59 κἂν...μαρτυρήσωσιν...καταβαίνω 'I at once sit down;' Dem. 20. 58 ἐν δὲ ᾗ δύο δείξας ἔτι ψηφίσματα ἀπαλλάττομαι τοῦ περὶ τούτου λόγου.

ταὐτὰ...ἐπρ.] Madv. 27.

εἰ δ'] 'but if some of us acted honestly, others the reverse, through those who have played the rogue it will be, as it would seem, that the honest have come in for a share of this disgrace.'

§ 33. **παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς**] supr. § 4 διαλογίζεσθε...παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς: Lyc. c. *Leocr.* 32; Dem. 21. 197.

διακρουσαμένῳ] 21. 27 τὸν παρόντα τρόπον τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην διακρουόμενον: 21. 128: 24. 36 τὰς ἄλλας [τῶν νόμων] φυλακάς...διακρούσασθαι: absolutely 21. 186. 'For it is evident that the guilty party was content to be silent, to elude the present time (as Ae. had tried to do), and never again submit himself to an account for his acts: while to one that was conscious of innocence it suggested itself as intolerable (it seemed hard) that he should by holding his tongue be thought an accomplice in shameful and criminal acts.' There is no reason to doubt the integrity of the text: δεινόν belongs to εἰσῄει and μηδέν to συνειδότι, as infr. 215 ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέναι. Cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 59 A οὐδὲν πάνυ μοι ἐλεεινὸν εἰσῄει: Soph. *Trach.* 298; *Oed. Col.* 371. Also with an *accusative* Pl. *Phaed.* 58 A με...ἔλεος εἰσῄει; and without an expressed subject Herod. 3. 42 τὸν δὲ ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα: Eur. *Iph. T.* 1340 εἰσῆλθεν ἡμᾶς...μή κτάνοιεν. Dem. 23. 188 οὐδενὸς εἰσῄει μοι φθονεῖν. Elmsl. *Med.* 56; Riddell, *Dig.* § 108.

τῶν πεπραγμένων ἑαυτὸν καθιστάναι, τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδότι δεινὸν εἰσῄει, εἰ δεινῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων δόξει κοινωνεῖν τῷ σιωπῆσαι. εἰμὶ τοίνυν ὁ κατηγορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγὼ τούτων, τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ.

34 Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν βουλὴ ταῦτα προβεβουλεύκει, τῆς δ' ἐκκλησίας γιγνομένης καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρόντος ἐν Πύλαις ἤδη—ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις, καὶ δέον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἶτα βουλεύσασθαι, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πράττειν ὅ τι δόξαι, ἅμα ἀκούειν κἀκεῖνον παρεῖναι καὶ μηδ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν εἶναι,
35 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῦτο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀνέγνω τῷ δήμῳ τὸ προβούλευμα, οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀναστὰς δ' οὗτος ἐδημη- 352
γόρει ταῦθ' ἃ διεξῆλθον ἄρτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγώ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθά, ἃ πεπεικὼς ἔφη τὸν Φίλιππον ἥκειν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρήμαθ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι. ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς ἐκπεπληγμένους τῇ παρουσίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον τῇ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ τούτοις ἐργιζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προηγγελκέ-

εἰ...δόξει] Madv. 132 d.

§§ 34—41. *This resolution was not read to the assembly; but to remove your alarm at the presence of Philip at Pylae, Ae. again detailed the advantages you were to receive, and read a letter from Philip, really written by himself, apologising for the ambassadors but making no mention of the Thebans or Phocians and committing him to nothing; the object of all being to keep you from interfering.*

§ 34. τὸ...ἐπιστῆσαι cannot possibly be taken with Vöm. as an infinitive of exclamation; it is merely explanatory of ἦν γάρ...; 'For this was the first of their offences that they set P. at the head of these affairs and that, when the proper course was that you should hear of it and then deliberate and after that execute what you determined, you only heard of it at the moment of his arrival and it was not at all easy to say what ought to be done.' Ἅμα only affects the first καὶ (4. 36) and καί...εἶναι depends like the other infinitives on ἦν γάρ.

ὅ τι χρή] There is no need for Bekker's conj. ὅτι χρείη. The thesis is preserved in the form it would assume in the *or. recta*. Madv. 130. Cf. Aesch. 2. 21 ὃς διασκοπούντων (i. e. διεσκοποῦμεν) ὅτι χρὴ λέγειν: Dem. 18. 172 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι: Thuc. 5. 62 ἐβουλεύοντο...ἐφ' ὅτι χρὴ πρῶτον ἰέναι; Aesch. 3. 107; Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5. 33 ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν: *Hell.* 4. 3. 20, &c.

§ 35. If it had not been for the parenthesis, τοῦτο μέν would have followed ἤδη; but the orator continues with reference to what had just preceded; 'and besides this (i. e. that proper time for deliberation was not left us) no one...'

ἐδημηγόρει] 'harangued as I have just told you (§ 20), detailing the many splendid advantages he had, he said, persuaded P. to grant you.'

ναι, πραοτέρους γενέσθαι τινός, πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐβούλεσθ' ὑμῖν
ἔσεσθαι προσδοκήσαντας, καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν
36 ἐμοῦ μηδ' ἄλλου μηδενός. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀνεγιγνώσκετο
ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἣν οὗτος ἔγραψεν ἀπο-
λειφθεὶς ἡμῶν, ἄντικρυς οὑτωσὶ καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπολογία
γεγραμμένη τῶν τούτοις ἡμαρτημένων. καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸς
κατεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἰέναι καὶ
τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν ἔνεστι, καὶ ὡς ἵνα συνδιαλλάτ-
τωσιν αὑτῷ τοὺς Ἀλεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φαρσαλίους κατέσχεν
37 αὐτούς· καὶ πάντα ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ εἰς αὑτὸν ποιούμενος
τὰ τούτων ἁμαρτήματα ἐστίν. ὑπὲρ δὲ Φωκέων ἢ Θε-
σπιέων ἢ ὧν οὗτος ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μι-
κρόν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου τοῦτον ἐπράχθη τὸν
τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν παρὰ τούτων ὑμᾶς ἔδει δίκην

πραοτέρους...τινός] lit. 'became milder than anything.' This is more commonly expressed negatively; *οὐδενὸς ἧττον...τεθαύμακα* 8. 4; *πλείων ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός* 14. 27, &c. Dind. compares 21. 66 *κἂν ἄμεινον ἀγωνίσωμαί τινος*. Cf. also 24. 186 *τοῦτ' ἀσέβημα ἔλαττον τίνος ἡγεῖσθε*; 23. 82 *οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τινος ἧττον οὗτος ἔχει καλῶς*. Some inferior MSS. have *τινάς*, which Sch. preferred, comparing *ὑμᾶς...τινάς* with 3. 11 *τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους*. The context is decisive against this reading. 'So that you, though greatly alarmed at first by the arrival of P. and angry with these men for not having given you warning of it, became milder than anything (as mild as it was possible to be) in the expectation of seeing all your wishes realised.'

§ 36. **ἀπολειφθεὶς ἡμῶν**] 'without our knowledge' K. and so Vöm. 'nobis insciis.' That this is incorrect is clear from § 175 *ἀπιόντων ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη παρὰ Φιλίππῳ*.

ἄντικρυς οὑτωσί] 'just outright;' 'from beginning to end a direct and express apology for these men's misdoings.' Isaeus 11. 23 *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄντικρυς οὑτωσί πᾶν τοὐναντίον*; infr. 154; 21. 119 *ἐφεξῆς οὑτωσί*; 3. 11 *σαφῶς οὑτωσί*; 18. 11 *ἀνέδην οὑτωσί*; 9. 44; and so before a vowel 35. 25 *οὑτωσὶ ἀκριβῶς*; Pl. *Gorg.* 503 D; 509 A. Cf. Buttm. *Ind. Mid. s. v.*

ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις] Their instructions directed them *τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὁρκοῦν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν* in alliance with Philip, infr. § 278; also § 158. In the following words the conj., as infr. 51 *οὐχ ἵν' ἐξέλθητε*, represents the plea put forward by Philip in the letter; 'to help him to make up the quarrel between the people of Halus and the Pharsalians.'

§ 37. **ἀναδεχόμενος...ἐστιν**] 3. 25 *note;* Madv. 180 d; 'takes upon his own shoulders,' 'takes upon himself and adopts all their misdeeds;' 22. 64 *τὰ τῆς σῆς ἀναιδείας...ἔργα ἐφ' αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξωνται*; 24. 14.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μ.] lit. 'on the contrary (instead of there being express mention of the Phocians) there is not even a little,' 'there is not a single syllable even;' 20. 136 *ὑμῶν...οὐδ' ἂν εἷς... τοῦτ' ἀφέλοιτο πάλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἄν*; 43. 48 *ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμοῦ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ὄνομα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἀγνίου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παραπλήσιον*; 54. 4 and 7; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4. 1. 32 *ὁ δ' οὐθένα ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὑτόν*: 8. 7. 1 and 4; 8. 11. 6: 9. 5. 1, &c.

ὑπέρ...ὧν] i.e. *τούτων ἃ*; 'in regard (§ 7) to those matters for which you

λαμβάνειν οὐ πεποιηκότων οὐδὲ διωκηκότων οὐδὲν ὧν ὑμεῖς προσετάξατε ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐκεῖνος ἐκδέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν καί φησιν αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι, ὃν οὐκ ἐμέλλεθ'
38 ὑμεῖς οἶμαι δυνήσεσθαι κολάσαι, ἃ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐξαπατῆσαι καὶ προλαβεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλετο, οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, ἵνα μηδ' ἐγκαλέσαι μηδὲ μέμψασθαι μηδὲν ὕστερον ὑμεῖς 353
ἔχοιτε Φιλίππῳ, μήτ' ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μήτ' ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ παρ' ἐκείνου τούτων ἐνόντων. λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἔγραψε μὲν οὗτος ἔπεμψε δ' ἐκεῖνος· καὶ σκοπεῖθ' ὅτι τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ὃν διεξελήλυθ' ἐγώ. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

39 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς καλὴ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, περὶ δὲ Φωκέων ἢ Θηβαίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, οὐδὲ γρῦ. ταύτης τοίνυν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐσθ' ὑγιές. καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἁλεῖς, οὓς ἵνα συνδιαλλάττωσι κατασχεῖν φησὶ

ought to have punished them for not having done and executed any of the instructions you gave them in your decree he takes the blame off their shoulders.' ἃ is used first as a *quantitative* acc. (Madv. 27), and then as the object of προλαβεῖν; 'but where he wished to deceive and get an advantage over us Ae. made the report.'

ἐκδέχεται] 'relieves them of,' 'takes the burden from them;' infr. 321; 5. 18; Aesch. 2. 30 *τὴν ἐκδοχὴν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ πολέμου.*

ἄλλοθι μ.] 'nor in any other communication received from him.' Cf. infr. 321 sq. where Dem. goes over this ground again.

§ 39. **ἀκούετε...τῆς ἐ...ὡς**] Cf. § 15 *τὴν εἰρήνην...πράττοντος.*

οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν...ὑγιές] 'in it therefore there is nothing honest whatever.' Pl. *Gorg.* 524 E *κατεῖδεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὂν τῆς ψυχῆς*: infr. 52 and 75; supr. 12. The expression which belongs to the language of common life was thought not below the dignity of tragedy by Euripides. *Bacch.* 262 *οὐχ ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἔτι λέγω τῶν ὀργίων*: *Hel.* 746 *οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου πυρός*, and the people of Sparta are in *Androm.* 448 *ἑλικτὰ κοὐδὲν ὑγιές.*

συνδιαλλάττωσι] supr. 36: 'the people of Halus, whose quarrel he says he kept these men to help him to make up, have got such a making up (of that quarrel) that they have been driven out and their city dismantled.'

οὓς] Madv. 195. r. One or more MSS. have *ἀνάσταστος*, which would have been appropriate if applied to a people carried off, as by the Persians into Upper Asia, or an individual, as Hermeias (Ps. Dem. 10. 32), but cannot be said of a city. What *ἀνάστατος* meant as applied to a *town*, may be inferred from Andoc. 1. 108 *τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον παραλαβόντες ἱερά τε κατακεκαυμένα τείχη τε καὶ οἰκίας καταπεπτωκυίας*: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 61 *πόλεώς ἐστι θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι*; to a *country* from

τούτους, τοιαύτης τετυχήκασι διαλλαγῆς ὥστ' ἐξελήλανται καὶ ἀνάστατος ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν γέγονεν· τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ὁ σκοπῶν τί ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίσαιτο οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναί φησι λύσασθαι. μεμαρτύρηται δὲ δήπουθεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πολλάκις ὡς ἐγὼ τάλαντον ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾠχόμην, καὶ νῦν μαρτυρηθήσεται· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν φιλοτιμίαν οὗτος ἀφαιρούμενος τοῦτ' ἔπεισεν ἐκεῖνον ἐγγράψαι. ὁ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἁπάντων· ὁ γὰρ εἰς τὴν προτέραν γράψας

infr. § 65. The first embassy found Parmenio (infr. 163) besieging Halus, which was soon afterwards taken and given up to the Pharsalians. Ps. Dem. 11. 1.

Bekk. st. and Vōm. omit ποιεῖν with S., as in 3. 22 τί ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι; but the same MS. has it below in §§ 40, 41, 48; from which we may fairly infer the omission here to be a correction of the copyist or a mere error. 'While as to the captives, he who was considering (as he pretended) what he could do to oblige you, says he did not even think of ransoming them.'

λύσασθαι] a *causative* middle 'to redeem,' i.e. from those of his people into whose hands they had fallen; those in his own hands he ἔλυσεν. The distinction is clearly marked in *Il.* 1. 13 and 20; Antiph. 5. 20 συνέπλει δὲ τά τε ἀνδράποδα ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ λυσόμενοι. Aeschines who sneers (2. 100) at Dem. for what he did and wishes to deprive him of the credit of what was a common φιλοτιμία, says Dem. went to redeem the captives though he knew that Philip ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδένα πώποτε Ἀθηναίων λύτρα πραξάμενον, ἀκούων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς (those in the hands of his subjects), ἐὰν εἰρήνη γένηται, ἀφήσει; and though the captives were numerous only took a talent ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ τούτου εὐπόρου, ἱκανὰ λύτρα. This is disingenuous; for though Philip out of policy or generosity exacted no λύτρα, others were not so liberal, and he therefore promised it would seem, or allowed his people to give it out that he intended to redeem the rest or contribute to their redemption. Cf. infr. 166 sq.

§ 40. **τήν...φιλοτιμίαν**] 'wishing to deprive me of the means of showing my public spirit.' Philip's meaning apparently was, as K. says, 'it did not occur to me (μηδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι) to redeem the prisoners in the hands of my subjects, but the moment it was suggested to me I acceded to the request; there could be therefore no occasion for Dem. to come to Pella to effect their ransom.' The redeeming of captives was one of the received ways of showing φιλοτιμία. In 8. 70 Dem. says ἔχων ...καὶ τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς (his duties to the state) καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας (Lys. 19. 59 καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποροῦσι συνεξέδωκε θυγατέρας καὶ ἀδελφὰς...τοῖς δ' εἰς ταφὴν παρεῖχεν ἀργύριον) φιλανθρωπίας (his duties to his distressed or indigent fellow-citizens); 18. 268 and 257; Lys. 12. 20. Andoc. 1. 141 naively tells the jurors that the reason why his ancestors performed their acts of φιλοτιμία was μάλιστα... πῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας [ἕνεκεν], καὶ ὅπως εἴ ποτέ τις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνων τινὶ κίνδυνος γένηται ἢ συμφορὰ σώζοιντο συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν τυγχάνοντες: Lys. 25. 13 and 16. 17.

ὁ τοίνυν...ὁ γάρ] In this construction, well elucidated by Madv. 197, ἐστί or ὑπάρχω is rarely found in the relative clause, as in Andoc. 4. 16 ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατόν ἐστι, τοιοῦτος ὤν. 'But the most import-

ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἠνέγκαμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι ἔγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ διαρρήδην ἡλίκα ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσω, εἰ εὖ ᾔδειν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γενησομένην, γεγοννίας τῆς συμμαχίας οὔ φησιν εἰδέναι τί ἂν ποιῶν χαρίσαιτο, οὐδ' ὃ αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο· τοῦτο γὰρ ᾔδει δῆλον ὅτι, εἴπερ μὴ ἐφενάκιζεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω τότ' ἔγραψε, λέγε μοι λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς προ- 354
τέρας ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἐνθένδε. λέγε.

ΕΞ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ.

41 Οὐκοῦν πρὶν μὲν εἰρήνης τυχεῖν, εἰ καὶ συμμαχία προσγένοιτ' αὐτῷ, γράψειν ὡμολόγει ἡλίκα τὴν πόλιν εὖ ποιήσει· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀμφότερ' αὐτῷ γέγονεν, οὐκ εἰδέναι φησὶ τί ἂν ποιῶν χαρίσαιτο, ἂν δ' ὑμεῖς λέγητε, ποιήσειν ὃ μήτ' αἰσχύνην μήτ' ἀδοξίαν αὑτῷ φέρει, εἰς ταύτας τὰς προφάσεις καταφεύγων, κἂν ἄρα εἴπητέ τι καὶ προαχθῆθ' ὑμεῖς ἐπαγγείλασθαι, ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ καταλείπων.

ant thing of all is this. He that wrote in the first letter...' Cp. Ps. Dem. 7. 33. For *εἰς γράψας* cf. 9. 27 *οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς γράφει.* Ps. Dem. l. c. has the more natural *ὁ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γεγραφώς.* The other mode of expression followed the analogy of *εἰς στήλην γράφειν.* For *δ'* cf. infr. § 48; 'I should also have expressly stated what great benefits I mean to do you, had I been certain that I should get the alliance as well,' *ὅτι* prefacing the *oratio recta.* Madv. 192 a.

ποιήσω] Madv. 130 b. In his 'Bemerkungen' he quotes other passages to show that in such cases the indicative never passes into an optative after an hypothetical indicative; in other words, that such hypothetical indicative never exerts the force of a real preterite. Lys. 1. 41 *δοκῶ ἂν ὑμῖν περιτρέχειν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅντινα οἴκοι καταλήψομαι*; Isocr. 15. 105; Dem. 16. 12 *εἰ τοῦτο προύλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι σωθέντες... οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἕξουσιν.*

γενησομένην...γεγοννίας] An ex. of what is called by the Technici *ἐπαναστροφή. Rhet. Graec.* 2. 336 Speng. '*τὸ σχῆμα τῶν καλλωπιζόντων, γίνεται δὲ ὅταν τὸ τέλος του κώλου ἑτέρου κώλου τις ἀρχὴν ποιήσηται*;' Dem. 18. 13 *διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ...οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο* being quoted in illustration. Cf. 8. 24 *χρήματα λαμβάνουσι· λαμβάνουσι δέ...*; Ps. Dem. 7. 34 which refers to the matter here discussed, *τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης· γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης...* 20. 55 *ἀκούσας, ἀκούσαι.*

οὐδ'] 'not even what he promised himself (and not through Aeschines); for of course he knew that if he was not imposing on you.'

αὐτὸ τοῦτο] 'read me the passage, beginning here:' 20. 27 *λαβὲ τὸν...νόμον καὶ λέγε τοῦτο αὐτό.*

§ 41. **ποιήσειν** sc. *φησί* from the preceding negative; infr. 82; Herod. 7. 104 *οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν...ἀλλὰ μένοντας...ἐπικρατέειν* sc. *κελεύων.* Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1. 71 'Epicurus negat corpus esse Deorum, sed tanquam corpus;' *De Fin.* 5. 88 'Metelli vitam negat beatiorem quam Reguli, praeponendam tamen.' Cf. Madvig's note to 2. 25.

ἐπαγγείλασθαι] infr. 193. In the active, 45. 68 *προσέλθοι τις ἂν καὶ*

42 Ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα ἐνῆν παραχρῆμα τότ' εὐθὺς ἐξελέγχειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὰ πράγματ' ἐᾶν, εἰ μὴ Θεσπιαὶ καὶ Πλαταιαὶ καὶ τὸ Θηβαίους αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δώσειν δίκην ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καίτοι ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι μόνον ἔδει καὶ φενακισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ὀρθῶς ἐλέγετο, εἰ δὲ πραχθῆναι τῷ ὄντι, σιωπᾶσθαι συνέφερεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ἦν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ὥστε μηδ' αἰσθομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις πλέον εἶναι μηδέν, τί οὐ γέγονεν; εἰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προαισθέσθαι

δεηθεὶς καὶ ἐπαγγείλειεν οὐδὲν ὀκνῶν: Lys. 8. 3: 'and should you perchance name anything and be induced to ask a favour, leaving himself a retreat.' 18. 219 **ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὑτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ...εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν.**

§ 42. **π. τότ' εὐθύς**] 'one might then at once have exposed and enlightened you upon them, and not suffered you to throw away the interests involved.' Cobet (*N. Lect.* p. 751) objects to **εὐθύς** as a gloss, and alters several passages where it is found joined to **παραχρῆμα**, on the ground that it was inserted by the copyists because 'olim antiquatum fuisse usum vocabuli **παραχρῆμα** et interpretationem aut desiderasse aut elicuisse.' But how is this to be reconciled with the fact that in numerous passages **παραχρῆμα** is used without **εὐθύς**? There is no more objection to **εὐθὺς π.** 'statim in ipso facinore,' than to e. g. **φανερῶς...ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ** 23. 157. Well may Madvig say, 'quam mira narrantur de librariis!'

Θεσπιαὶ καὶ Πλ.] More fully supr. 21.

τὸ...δώσειν] 'had not the prospect of immediate punishment being inflicted on the Thebans hid the truth from you.' The fut. inf. refers to the promise made by Aeschines. Cf. Ps. Dem. 10. 56 **τὸ διαρπασθήσεσθαι τὰ χρήματα**: infr. § 54 **τό...ἥξειν.** Though occasionally forced by circumstances into alliance with them, the feelings of the Athenians towards the Thebans were those of ineradicable hostility. 14. 33 **χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἡδέως οὐδ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαιτε**: 5. 15 and 18: 18. 18: infr. § 85. Hence Aeschines could so far be sure of the full sympathy of his hearers when he said of Dem. (2. 106) **καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς βοιωτιάζει.** Dem. defends himself in 18. 161 sq.

Vöm. and the Zurich editors read **ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ἔδει, φενακισθῆναι δέ** from S; a mere blunder, which arose, as Sch. saw, from a misreading of the compendium of **μόνον**, which then rendered **δέ** necessary in place of **καί**.

σ. συνέφερεν] 'it was advisable that they should not be talked about,' in order that the Thebans might not be able to prevent their being carried out.

εἰ μὲν γάρ] 'for if matters had already reached such a point (gone so far) that even if the Thebans discovered the design it was of no advantage to them, why has it not been carried out? But if it has been prevented by their finding it out in time, who let out the secret? Was it not Ae.?'

παρά] A thing may be considered to go along with another when a consequence of it: hence **παρά** as here = 'all along of,' 'in consequence of.' This use of the preposition which is not found in the tragedians or Aristophanes and once only, I believe, in Thucydides (1. 141) is common enough in Demosthenes and the Orators. Cf. Antiph. 2. 5: Dem. 4.

43 κεκώλυται, τίς ὁ ἐκλαλήσας; οὐχ οὗτος; ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἤμελλεν οὔτ' ἠβουλήθη ταῦτ' οὐδ' ἤλπισεν οὗτος, ὥστε τοῦ γ' ἐκλελαληκέναι μηδ' αἰτίαν ἐχέτω· ἀλλὰ φενακισθῆναι τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ὑμᾶς ἔδει, καὶ ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἴκοι καταμεῖναι, καὶ ψήφισμα νικῆσαι τοιοῦτο δι' οὗ Φωκεῖς ἀπολοῦνται. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐσπαθᾶτο ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐδημηγορεῖτο. 355

44 Ἀκούων τοίνυν ἐγὼ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπαγγελ-

11; 9. 2; 21. 96: Ps. D. 25. 1; 29. 52: &c. παρὰ τοῦτο 18. 232; 24. 214: παρὰ ταῦτα 20. 110: παρὰ τί; Dein. 1. 72.

ἐκλαλήσας] 1. 26 ἃ...ἐκλαλεῖ.

§ 43.] K. arguing that there is not much sense in saying that 'Aeschines never desired,' makes Philip the nom. to ἔμελλε, as being throughout in the orator's thoughts the party promising and designing the things alluded to, and tr. 'he never had any such meaning or intention.' We might then comp. 6. 15 ὁ δὲ μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει. But I prefer with Sh., as simpler and more natural, to make ταῦτα the nom., there being no difficulty in the sudden change of subject; 'but neither was this intended nor did Ae. wish for (and therefore naturally he did nothing to bring it about) or expect it; therefore he may stand acquitted at least of having let out the secret, there being in truth no secret to let out.' For ἐβουλήθη cf. infr. § 173. Bekk. st. reads οὐδ' ἤλπισεν ex conj. and so Dind., this being a subdivision of the second member of the partition οὔτε...οὔτε: cf. Thuc. 8. 21 μετεδίδοσαν οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐδὲ (vulg. οὔτε) ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων: ib. c. 27. Vöm. who quotes against them § 168, where the partition is threefold, seems to have mistaken the point in question. He is unfortunate also in taking οὗτος with ἤμελλε, supplying out of §§ 20, 35 sq. κατὰ Θηβαίων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον καὶ πείσειν ταῦτα πράξειν or the like. To state this is to refute it.

The subject to νικῆσαι cannot be αὐτούς 'yourselves,' nor is there any necessity to supply τοῦτον, as ψ. νικᾷ is nearly as common as ψ. νικᾷν. Cf. 24. 27 τὸ ψ....τὸ νικῆσαν: Thuc. 2. 12 ἦν Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα; Pl. *Rep.* 297 D ἡ ἐμὴ νικᾷ and the common phrase ἐκ τῆς νικώσης, Xen. *An.* 6. 1. 18: 6. 2. 12. Tr. 'that you should yourselves remain at home (that they might not when they discovered Philip's real designs secure Pylae, infr. 322), and such a decree be passed as would ensure the destruction of the Phocians.'

ἐσπαθᾶτο] In Arist. *Nub.* 53 οὐ μὴν ἐρῶ γ' ὡς ἀργὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐσπάθα. Ἐγὼ δ' ἂν αὐτῇ θοἰμάτιον δεικνὺς τοδὶ πρόφασιν ἔφασκον...λίαν σπαθᾷς, the verb is clearly used in a double sense. In all the other passages quoted by Sh. it is used in the secondary sense 'to squander,' 'waste prodigally,' and this sense he assigns to it here, translating, I presume, 'therefore were these lavish promises made and therefore publicly announced.' But as there is no reason why a speaker *might* not use the word in its literal sense, it is better to take it as one of the bold metaphors Dem. is fond of using, what his enemy calls his μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα (Aesch. 3. 166), and tr. with K. 'therefore were these statements fabricated and therefore publicly announced.'

§§ 44—46. *Having good grounds for thinking that the promises made by Aeschines were false, I sought to enlighten you on the subject, but was not able to obtain a hearing.*

§ 44. τηλ. καὶ τοιαῦτα] supr. 19,

λομένου τούτου, καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι ψεύδεται, — καὶ ὅθεν, φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς· πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ, ὅτε τοὺς ὅρκους ἤμελλε Φίλιππος ὀμνύναι τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐκσπόνδους ἀποφανθῆναι τοὺς Φωκέας ὑπὸ τούτων, ὃ σιωπᾶν καὶ ἐᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν εἴπερ ἤμελλον σώζεσθαι· ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ταῦτα λέγειν μηδὲ τὴν
45 ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον, ἐκ τούτων οὖν τεκμαιρόμενος, ἀναστὰς καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπειρώμην μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, ὡς δ' ἀκούειν οὐκ ἠθέλετε, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, τοσοῦτο μόνον διαμαρτυράμενος (καὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε) ὅτι ταῦτα οὔτ' οἶδα οὔτε κοινωνῶ, προσέθηκα δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ προσδοκῶ. τραχέως δ' ὑμῶν τῷ μηδὲ προσδοκᾶν σχόντων, "καὶ ὅπως γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι," ἔφην "ἄν τι τού-

καὶ ὅθεν] 'and I will tell you how:' 24. 96 ὡς δὲ, ἐγὼ φράσω: 23. 209 ἅμα δεῖ τι ποιεῖν καὶ πόθεν οὐκ ἔχετε. Observe the temporal clause inserted between the article with a preposition and the infinitive, as in 18. 95.

ὅρκους...τοὺς περὶ] as 5. 9 τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπειληφότες.

ἐκσπόνδους] i. e. by the motion of Philocrates which in its first draught proposed to include Philip and all his allies on the one part and Athens with her allies on the other, specially excepting however the Phocians and the town of Halus. This was negatived by the Assembly, and Philocrates was obliged to substitute Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους. § 159. In § 174 Dem. charges the envoys, as here, with altering the terms Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους καὶ Ἁλέας ἀπέφηναν (thus bringing it back to the form in which it was originally proposed by Philocrates) καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρημένα. Cf. Grote, 11. 458.

εἰκὸς ἦν] Madv. 118: Goodwin 49. n. 3: 'a fact which it would have been natural they should have been silent about and passed over, if the Ph. were really to be saved.'

§ 45.] After τούτων Bekk. st. and Dind. put a full stop, thus leaving the construction incomplete. But there is no anacoluthon. Ἐκ τούτων, recapitulating the contents of the parenthesis, returns to ὅθεν, and οὖν is resumptive, as *ergo* so often is in Latin (Madv. *De Fin.* 2. § 23): 'forming my conjectures, I say, from these facts, I rose...'.

τραχέως σχόντων] an *ingressive* aorist: 1. 13 ἠσθένησε: infr. 197 δακρυσάσης: 'that I had no knowledge of these things or connexion with them, and added that what was more I did not expect them. And on your becoming exasperated at my saying that I did not expect them either; yes, I said, if any of them comes true, see you thank honour and crown (infr. 334) these men not me.' He uses nearly the same words in 5. 10 προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ὡς οἶδ' ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτα οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε προσδοκῶ, οἶμαι δὲ τὸν λέγοντα ληρεῖν. For ὅπως with the fut. indic. Madv. 123. 24: Goodwin, 45. n. 7. Instead of ἐπαινέσεσθε some inferior MSS. have ἐπαινέσετε, which is sometimes though rarely found in Attic prose. Cf. Veitch, p. 121. καὶ μέντοι is a stronger form of καὶ...δέ: Plat. *Alcib.* 1. 113 c καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὖ λέγεις, 'and yet, to be sure, you say well:' *Eu-*

των γίγνηται, τούτους ἐπαινέσεσθε καὶ τιμήσετε καὶ στε-
φανώσετε, ἐμὲ δὲ μή· καὶ μέντοι κἄν τι τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅπως
46 *τούτοις ὀργιεῖσθε· ἐγὼ δ' ἀφίσταμαι." "μὴ νῦν" ὑπολα-*
βὼν ἔφη Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί, "μὴ νῦν ἀφίστασο, ἀλλ' ὅπως
τότε μὴ προσποιήσει." νὴ Δία, ἢ ἀδικήσω γ', ἔφην. ἐπα-
ναστὰς δ' ὁ Φιλοκράτης μάλα ὑβριστικῶς "οὐδὲν" ἔφη
"θαυμαστὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ ταὐτὰ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημο-
σθένει δοκεῖν· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω." καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε.

47 *Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ δίδωσι γράψας μετὰ ταῦ-*
τα ὁ Φιλοκράτης. ἀκοῦσαι μὲν γὰρ οὑτωσὶ παγκάλως

thyd. 289 C *καὶ μέντοι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν*; *μέντοι* often answering to *μέν* in Dem. Cf. 3. 2: 4. 4: 9. 20: 21. 141, 153. 'If however the contrary proves to be the case mind you are angry with them; and I wash my hands of the matter.'

§ 46. **μὴ νῦν...**] 'not now, said Ae. interrupting, don't wash your hands of it now; but take care you don't put in any claim (to the merit of having brought the result about) hereafter. Certainly, I replied, or I should indeed be acting unfairly:' lit. 'certainly I will not, else I shall indeed act unfairly.' The point of what Philocrates says is more clear in 6. 30 *λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ' ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει.* On the *δύσκολος* see Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 4. 6. 2 and ib. 9 *ὁ δὲ πᾶσι δυσχεραίνων εἴρηται ὅτι δύσκολος καὶ δύσερις.* This temper Philocrates attributed to the Orator's thin potations, which were a standing joke against him. Lucian, *Dem. Encom.* § 15 *οὐχ οὕτως* (as Aeschylus, according to Callisthenes, did), *ὁ Δημοσθένης συνετίθει πρὸς μέθην τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ πίνων. ᾗ καὶ τὸν Δημάδην παῖξαί φασιν εἰς ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑδροποσίαν, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς ὕδωρ* (the water glass) *λέγοιεν, τὸν Δ. δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ γράφειν.* With the last words of the quotation comp. Arist. *Eq.* 348.

ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε] It was a favourite amusement of the people to listen to these encounters; supr. 23: 18. 138: 9. 54 *καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν* in reference perhaps to this scene; 18. 3. Dein. 1. 99 accuses some of the rhetors of abusing one another in this way in order to throw dust in the eyes of the people, *οἱ δὲ διηλλαγμένοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λοιδορῶνται καὶ προσκρούωσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐξεπίτηδες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταὐτὰ πράττωσιν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς τοὺς ῥᾷστα πειθομένους τοῖς τούτων λόγοις.*

§§ 47—52. *A consideration of the decree which Philocrates afterwards presented, and the letters of Philip show that the ambassadors were acting in concert with the king to deceive you and render you unable to assist the Phocians.*

δίδωσιν] 'drew up and handed in,' i.e. to the clerk of the assembly (Aesch. 2. 64 *ᾧ τὸ ψ. ἐπεδείξατο Δημοσθένης καὶ ἀνεκοινοῦτο, εἰ δῷ τῷ γραμματεῖ* 'consulted him as to whether he should hand it in to the clerk,') or to the Proedri (Aesch. 2. 83 *δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψ. τοῖς προέδροις*): as here Aesch. 2. 13: Dem. 24. 13.

ἀκοῦσαι...οὑτωσί] 'just to hear;' 20. 18 *ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὑτωσὶ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι λόγον τιν' ἔχον, εἰ δέ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσειε...*:' Pl. *Phileb.* c. 3 *ἔστι γὰρ ἀκούειν μὲν οὕτως ἁπλῶς ἔν τι...*:' 23. 9 *τῷ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι...τῷ δ' ἔργῳ.* Madv. 150. r. 2.

ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς συλλογίσηται τις ἐφ' ὧν
ἐγράφη καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς οὗτος ὑπισχνεῖτο τότε, οὐδὲν 356
ἄλλο φανήσονται πλὴν παραδόντες Φιλίππῳ καὶ Θηβαίοις
Φωκέας, μόνον οὐκ ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δήσαντες. λέγε τὸ
ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

48 Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ψήφισμα, ὅσων ἐπαί-
νων καὶ ὅσης εὐφημίας μεστόν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι
τὴν αὐτὴν ἥνπερ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Φίλιππον ὅτι ἐπαγγέλλεται τὰ
δίκαια ποιήσειν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνός γε ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλὰ
τοσούτου ἔδει ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰδέναι φησὶ τὶ
49 ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίσαιτο. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν ὁ λέγων ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπισχνούμενος. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τούτου λό-

ἐφ' ὧν] 2. 1; 'but when the occasion on which it was drawn up is taken into account.'

οὐδὲν ἄλλο...πλήν] *adverbially*, as *nihil aliud quam*, in the sense of *merely, simply*. Cf. 3. 1 *οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν...ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν... οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἁμαρτάνειν*: 14. 12; Thuc. 4. 14 *ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν*, Thuc. 2. 16; 7. 75 *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλει ἐκπολιορκουμένῃ ἐῴκεσαν ὑποφευγούσῃ*: 8. 5 *ὄντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχομένων ἐν κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου*. We have the full expression *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ* in 8. 10, 27, in which and similar passages Cobet (*Nov. Lect.* p. 520) unnecessarily proposes to omit *ποιοῦσιν*. Cf. Madv. 215 b. r. 1: Buttm. *Ind. Mid.* s. v. *ἄλλος*. 'They will be found to have simply delivered up the Phocians all but tying their hands behind them.'

§ 48. **ὁρᾶτε...τὸ ψ. ὅσων**] supr. 15 *τὴν εἰρήνην*, and 39.

εὐφημίας] 'fair words,' 'flattering language.' Aesch. 1. 169 *Φίλιππον δὲ νῦν μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐφημίαν ἐπαινῶ· ἐὰν δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔργοις γένηται ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ῥᾴδιον τὸν καθ' αὑτοῦ ποιήσει ἔπαινον.*

καί] sc. *ὁρᾶτε*; 'and that the peace shall be (Madv. 168. 1) the same for his descendants also as for P.;' 'how it proposes that the peace with Philip shall be extended to his descendants, and also thanks P. for offering to do what is just.' 6. 31 *καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ἐψηφίσασθε.* Grote, who is clearly wrong in understanding *τοῖς ἐκγόνοις* to mean 'your d.,' is at a loss (11. 575 *note*) to conceive why Dem. so passionately complains of this. The orator supplies the answer in § 55.

τ. ἔδει ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι] Madv. 145. r. 1: 'in fact so far was he from offering that he says he does not even know what he can do to oblige you,' *ἔδει* being personal: cf. infr. § 230.

§ 49. **τοὺς παρά**] 'Ph. taking advantage of the eagerness with which you received the statements of Ae.;' 'seeing how you jumped at...' Cf. infr. 56 *ταῖς παρ' Αἰσχίνου ῥηθείσαις ὑποσχέσεσιν*: 2. 12; 9. 47: 16. 11: 18. 35 *οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες*: 20. 75: 45. 4: 56. 46 *ὁ... παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος* 'our case;' Hyper. *pro Lycophr.* col. 9 *τὰ παρὰ σοῦ*

γους ὥρμηκότας λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐγγράφει τοῦτ' εἰς τὸ ψήφισμα, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι Φωκεῖς ἃ δεῖ καὶ παραδιδῶσι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι τὸ ἱερόν, ὅτι βοηθήσει ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς διακωλύοντας ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.
50 οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μενόντων μὲν ὑμῶν οἴκοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξεληλυθότων, ἀπεληλυθότων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ προησθημένων τὴν ἀπάτην, οὐδενὸς δ' ἄλλου παρόντος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων πλὴν Θετταλῶν καὶ Θηβαίων, εὐφημότατ' ἀνθρώπων τούτοις παραδοῦναι γέγραφε τὸ ἱερὸν γράψας τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι παραδοῦναι (ποίοις; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί), ἀλλ' οὐ συγκαλέσαι δὲ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, οὐδ' ἐπισχεῖν ἕως ἂν συλλεγῶσιν, οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν Πρόξενον εἰς Φωκέας, οὐδ' ἐξιέναι Ἀθηναίους,
51 οὐδὲ τοιοῦτ' οὐδέν. καίτοι καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμψεν ὁ 357
Φίλιππος δύο καλούσας ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵν' ἐξέλθητε· πώμαλα·

ἐψευσμένα. This use of παρά with passives seems to be confined to verbs of *giving* and *saying*. Madv. 75. 3, and 78. r.

τὸ ἱερόν] at Delphi, which had been seized by Philomelus in B. C. 357.

διακωλύοντας ... γίγνεσθαι] supr. § 26.

§ 50. **οὐκοῦν**] 'So as you were staying at home and had not taken the field, and the L. had retired and found out the artifice (observe the ὕστερον πρότερον; cf. supr. 13), and no one else of the A. was present... he has proposed in the blandest possible language that they should deliver up the temple to them (the Thebans and Thessalians) by proposing as he does that they should deliver it up to the Amphictyons. What Amphictyons?...and not [as he ought to have done] that you should call the Amphictyonic council together and wait till they assembled.'

τῶν Λ.] There were the 1000 mercenaries under Archidamus whom the Spartans sent in the spring at the request of Phalaecus; cf. infr. 77 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἧκεν (Philip) εἰς Πύλας, οἱ Λ. δ' αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἔνεδραν ὑπεχώρησαν. Grote, 11. 578 sq. It is more probable that they had been won over by the blandishments and promises of Philip; infr. 76; 73 note.

οὐδενός] supr. 16 μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων with the note. With εὐφημότατ' ἀνθρώπων comp. 27. 18 ἀναισχυντότατ' ἀνθρώπων; 29. 28 δικαιότατ' ἀνθρώπων.

παραδοῦναι] must not be tr. 'to give up,' which would require ἡμᾶς. The subject is of course Φωκέας.

δέ] after συγκαλέσαι marks the quotation from the decree, as infr. 63, 181 ἀποδοῦναι δέ.

Πρόξενον] Cf. § 52.

§ 51. For ἐξέλθητε, which is in all the mss., Bekk. st. reads ἐξέλθοιτε ex conj. and so Dind.; without reason, as Dem. is here referring to the language actually used by Philip (Aesch. 2. 137 ὑμῖν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν οὐκ ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Φ. ἐξιέναι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσοντας τοῖς δικαίοις; infr. 52, 324); cf. § 36 συνδιαλλάττωσιν. 'And yet I admit P. sent you two letters summoning you, not meaning that you should march out, most assuredly; for he would never [had he really meant what his letters literally taken seemed to imply] have robbed you of the opportunities when you could have

οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς χρόνους ἀνελὼν ἐν οἷς ἡδυνήθητ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν, τηνικαῦτ' ἐκάλει· οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέ, ἡνίκα δεῦρο ἀποπλεῖν ἐβουλόμην, κατεκώλυεν· οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα λέγειν τούτῳ προσέταττεν ἐξ ὧν ἤκισθ' ὑμεῖς ἐμέλλετ' ἐξιέναι· ἀλλ' ἵνα, ἃ ἐβούλεσθε, οἰόμενοι πράξειν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐναντίον ψηφίσαισθε αὐτῷ, μηδ' ἀμύναιντο μηδ' ἀντέχοιεν οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπανέχοντες ἐλπίσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπογνόντες ἅπαν-

marched out, and summoned you then.' On **πώμαλα** see Sh.'s critical note.

οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέ...] Cf. infr. § 325.

ψηφίσαισθε] Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm., apparently supported by the *ψηφίσασθε* of S. L and some other MSS. have *ψηφήσησθε*, which is adopted by Sh. On such combinations of a final subjunctive and optative after a past tense see n. to § 77. The ordinary explanations are not satisfactory. Sh. following Hermann (on Viger, n. 350) understands the subj. to express a result which Philip confidently looked for: the opt. one which was more contingent as depending on other circumstances as well as the support of Athens, which however is not the way in which Dem. and the king looked at the matter (cf. infr. 53; 322 sq.). So also Jelf, § 809. Donaldson (*Gr. Gr.* § 613) and Arnold (on Thuc. 3. 22) consider that the subj. denotes the first, the opt. the second or ulterior consequence. Though these theories will plausibly explain passages such as Thuc. 3. 22, they cannot without the greatest violence be made to fit, e.g. Thuc. 7. 70 *ἐφύλασσον...ὅπως πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπίπτοιεν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς ἅμα προσβοηθῇ*, or Ps. Dem. 49. 14 *δανείζεται χιλίας δραχμὰς...ἵνα διαδοίη τοῖς Βοιωτίοις τριηράρχοις, καὶ παραμένωσιν ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ ἡ κρίσις γένηται.* And here, where the structure of the sentence *οὐχ ἵνα...ἀλλ' ἵνα* (supr. § 12) compels us to understand both subjunctives in the same way, there is scant sense in saying 'he summoned you, not meaning that you should march out (which he confidently expected), but that you might vote nothing adverse to him (which he confidently expected)...' Only hopeless confusion can result from bringing in the ideas of 'certainty,' and 'contingency,' which have no place in this construction. I follow Bekk. st. Cf. 23. 93 *ψήφισμα τοῦθ' οὗτος ἔγραψεν οὐχ ἵνα ὄντος ἀκύρου μηδὲν ἀηδὲς ὑμῖν συμβῇ ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐξαπατηθέντων ὑμῶν διαπραξαιντό τινες τἀναντία τοῖς ὑμῖν νόμοις.* Ps. Dem. 53. 18 *ἐδεήθην ἐγὼ τῶν δικαστῶν...συγχωρῆσαι ὅσουπερ αὐτοὶ ἐτιμῶντο, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ Ἀριθούσιος...ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐγὼ Πασίωνος ὤν ... μηδένα Ἀθηναίων ἀπεκτονὼς εἴην*; 24. 28, where we have the opt. in both clauses; 40. 35, the subj. in both; and so ib. § 43. Tr. 'not meaning that you should march out (as his letter said)...but that in the belief he would do all you wished you might vote nothing against him; and that the Ph. might not resist or hold out buoyed up by hopes of help from you, but might in utter despair surrender themselves into his hands;' 'might not be emboldened by their hopes of help from you to hold out.' Cf. infr. 324.

ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλπίσιν] = the '*αἱ ὑμετέραι ἐλπίδες* of Thuc. 1. 69. Dem. 4. 43 *τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνα ἐλπίδας*; infr. 55 *τῶν παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐεργεσιῶν.* Cf. 1. 10 *ποτέ*, and infr. 289. This mode of expression is in Attic prose almost confined to the orators.

ἐπανέχοντες] intransitive: 'resting upon,' 'holding themselves up.

τα αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαιεν. λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

52 Αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπιστολαὶ καλοῦσιν αὗται, καὶ νὴ Δία ἤδη γε· τούτοις δ', εἴπερ ἦν ὑγιές τι τούτων, τί ἄλλο προσῆκεν ἢ συνειπεῖν ὅπως ἐξέλθητε ὑμεῖς, καὶ τὸν Πρόξενον, ὃν περὶ τοὺς τόπους ᾔδεσαν ὄντα, γράφειν εὐθέως βοηθεῖν; πάντα τοίνυν τἀναντία τούτων φαίνονται πεποιηκότες. εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ οἷς ἐπέστελλε προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἃ φρονῶν ταῦτ' ἔγραφε συνῄδεσαν· 53 τούτοις οὖν συνέπραττον καὶ τούτοις συνηγωνίζοντο. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν Φωκεῖς, ὡς τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τό τε ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἔλαβον τὸ τοῦ Φιλοκράτους καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐπύθοντο τὴν τούτου καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς τρόπους ἀπώλοντο. σκοπεῖτε γάρ. ἦσαν ἀπιστοῦντές τινες αὐτόθι τῷ Φιλίππῳ

upon their hopes...'; Jelf, 359. Comp. *Oed. Tyr.* 174, and the active use of the word in Thuc. 6. 86 (quoted by Sh.) ἀνέχοντας τὴν Σικελίαν ('holding S. up' to prevent her from being sunk), where Abresch quotes from Aristides ὃς... τοὺς λόγους ἀνεῖχε μὴ καταδῦναι. Vöm. reads ἐπέχοντας with L and the vulg. translating 'expectatione retenti spei factae ipsis per vos;' Dind. and the Zurich ed. have ὑπέχοντες with S.

ἀπογνόντας] 'giving up everything for lost,' 'in utter despair;' § 54; 6. 16 ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους; 3. 33.

§§ 52—56. *Aeschines and his coadjutors did not urge you to obey Philip's call, for they knew his intention in writing these letters. And so the three parties in Phocis when they heard your determination, were induced by various motives to put themselves in Philip's hands.*

§ 52. **καί...γε**] 'and verily at once; but what should these men have done if there was any thing honest in all this (i. e. in Philip's summons) but second his request that you should march out:' the subj. once more harping on the king's words. Grote, II. 576.

ὑγιές τι] supr. 39. Proxenus was then stationed at Oreus in Euboea, infr. 322 sq.

συνῄδεσαν] supr. § 17.

§ 53. **τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν**] 'when they got the report of your proceedings in the assembly.' The expression is = τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλ. ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλ. ἐπύθοντο. Madv. 70. 6. Xen. *An.* 2. 3. 7 μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. Thuc. 8. 89 ἀπήγγειλαν τὰ παρὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου: Isocr. 15. 17 τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκούειν. Cf. infr. 59.

πάντας τοὺς τρ.] Dobree, quoting § 224 κατὰ πολλοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς τρόπους, rejected the article. It refers to what follows, in which Dem. shows how the three parties in Phocis were severally led to give in.

σκοπεῖτε γάρ] The explanatory sentence after λογίζεσθε δὲ, σκοπεῖτε γὰρ, ὁρᾶτε δέ, and such sentences generally are added ἀσυνδέτως; infr. 179, 257, 278, 300; 18. 150 γνώσεσθε δὲ ἐκεῖθεν. Οὐκ ἐνῆν... Cf. Stallb. on Pl. *Apol.* 22 A.

καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες· οὗτοι πιστεύειν ὑπήχθησαν. διὰ τί; ὅτι
ἡγοῦντο, οὐδ' εἰ δεκάκις Φίλιππος αὐτοὺς ἐξηπάτα, οὐ- 358
δέποτ' ἂν τούς γε Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίους ἐξαπατᾶν
τολμῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ ἃ οὗτος ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς
54 ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἥκειν, οὐχ αὑτοῖς ὄλεθρον, ἦσαν
ἄλλοι τινὲς οἳ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι δεῖν ᾤοντο·
ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησε τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον
ὑπάρχειν αὑτοῖς πεισθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν
ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥξειν, οὓς βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς ἤλπιζον ἐκεῖνοι.
ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταμέλειν ὑμῖν ᾤοντό τινες πεποιημένοις τὴν
πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην· τούτοις ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τὴν
αὐτὴν ἐψηφίσασθ' ἐπέδειξαν, ὥστε πανταχῇ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν
ἀπογνωσθῆναι. διόπερ ἅπαντα ταῦτα εἰς ἓν ψήφισμα
55 συνεσκεύασαν. ὃ καὶ μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἁπάντων
ὑμᾶς ἠδικηκέναι· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἄνδρα θνητὸν καὶ διὰ καιρούς
τινας ἰσχύοντα γράφοντας εἰρήνην ἀθάνατον συνθέσθαι τὴν

ἦσαν...] infr. 294 *ἦσαν ἐν Ἤλιδι κλέπτοντες τὰ κοινά τινες*: 3. 25 *σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ...μένοντες* (note); supr. 37 *ἀναδεχόμενος...ἔστιν*. 'There were some persons of intelligence there who regarded P. with distrust.'

ὑπήχθησαν] 'led on,' 'induced' by the artifice that had been used; Cf. 6. 31 *οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε*: 18. 188; 8, 63 *Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγει*: 22. 32, in which passages the verb clearly connotes art and deceit.

τούς γε Ἀ.] K. inadvertently tr. 'he would at all events not dare to deceive the Athenian envoys.' The meaning is, 'at any rate the Ath. envoys would not dare to deceive the Athenians,' by making a false report.

§ 54. **πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν**] Cf. 15. 8 *εἰ δ' [ἐγνώκατε] ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολεμεῖν, ἂν τούτου δέῃ, καὶ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν οἴεσθε χρῆναι*. 'There were others who were determined to resist to the last; but even these had their resolution damped by the persuasion that Ph. was on their side, and that if they refused to do what was required of them you would attack them!

μαλακούς] Combined in 8. 68 with *ἄτολμος*: Aesch. 2. 106 *οὗτοσὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τόλμης ἐστὶ μέστος· ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πόρρωθεν δεδιέναι*: Dem. 9. 35: Ps. D. 17. 29 *ἀδιήγητόν τινα τῆς πόλεως ἔκλυσιν καὶ μαλακίαν*. For *ὑπάρχειν* cf. infr. 118. 140: 18. 174 *ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ*. With *τὸ*... *ᾤξειν* comp. § 42 *τὸ*...*δώσειν*.

ἀλλὰ καί] The third party in Phocis.

τὴν αὐτήν] supr. § 48.

τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] 'What was to be looked for from you,' 'hope of help from you was despaired of.' Herod. 9. 13 *τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι*. Vöm. is clearly wrong in understanding *οἱ ἐπιδείξαντες* with *συνεσκεύασαν*. The subject is *οὗτοι*, which is inserted after *ψήφισμα* in LFΦΩ. Cf. § 43 *ψήφισμα νικῆσαι τοιοῦτο δὶ οὗ Φωκεῖς ἀπολοῦνται*, and infr. 324; 'therefore (in order to influence the three parties in Phocis) they packed all this into one decree.'

συνεσκεύασαν] Cf. § 303 *note*.

§ 55. **ἀθάνατον**] from its position belongs to *εἰρήνην* and *αἰσχύνην*: 'for in drawing up a treaty of peace for eternity with a mortal man raised

κατὰ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχύνην, καὶ ἀποστερῆσαι μὴ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐεργεσιῶν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοσαύτῃ περιουσίᾳ χρήσασθαι πονηρίας ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερόν ποτε μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι πάντας ἠδικηκέναι, πῶς οὐχὶ πάνδεινον ἐστίν;
56 τοῦτο τοίνυν οὐδέποθ' ὑμεῖς ὑπεμείνατ' ἂν ὕστερον προσγράψαι πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἰ μὴ ταῖς παρ' Αἰσχίνου ῥηθείσαις ὑποσχέσεσι τότ' ἐπιστεύσατε. αἷσπερ οἱ Φωκεῖς πιστεύσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ γάρ τοι παραδόντες αὐτοὺς Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἑκόντες ἐγχειρίσαντες ἐκείνῳ 359
τὰς πόλεις ἁπάντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὧν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν ἔτυχον.
57 Ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε σαφῶς ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ διὰ τούτους ἀπόλωλε, τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῖν λογιοῦμαι καθ' οὓς ἐγίγνεθ' ἕκαστα. περὶ ὧν δ' ἄν τις ἀντιλέγῃ τούτων, ἀναστὰς ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι εἰπάτω. ἡ μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνη ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγένετο, ἀπεδημήσαμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους· καὶ τοῦτον ἅπαντα τὸν

to power by certain accidents to have contracted for an eternity of disgrace to our city.' Cf. 9. 72.

κατὰ τῆς π.] 2. 4 *κατ' ἐκείνου... ὀνείδη*: 6. 9 *καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*: infr. 84 *αἱ κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐλπίδες*: Ps. Dem. 25. 12 *ἡ καθ' ὑμῶν αἰσχύνη*: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 140 *τὴν κατὰ τῶν προδιδόντων τιμωρίαν*, the person or thing being conceived as below and subjected to the *ὄνειδος*, &c.

παρὰ τῆς τ.] supr. 50; 'the favours of Fortune.' Cf. 2. 1 and 2; 9. 38 *τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἑκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ τύχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει*: infr. 310.

§ 56. **τοῦτό...τό**] the clause 'and to his descendants.'

παρ' Αἰσχίνου] supr. § 49.

§§ 57—63. *This is shown to be the case* (1) *by the dates*, (2) *by the surrender without resistance of the Phocians, and* (3) *by the fact that the convention was not between the Thebans or Thessalians and the Phocians, but between the Phocians and Philip.*

τούτων] might be neuter, 'any of these particulars,' but the order of the words is in favour of making it masculine, referring to *διὰ τούτους*, which in the following sections uniformly refers to Aeschines and the other Envoys, 'through,' 'by the help of.' In § 69 *διὰ τούτων* of Antipater and Parmenio, Philip's ministers. 'If any of these men dispute any of these particulars, let him get up and speak while my water is running;' a common challenge. Andoc. 1. 26 *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ δίδωμι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐμὲ ἐξελέγξαι*; *ib.* 35 and 55; Dem. 18. 139 *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι*, the time allowed to each speaker being measured by the clepsydra. Hence the expressions 27. 12 *οὐκ ἐνδέχεται πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ὕδωρ εἰπεῖν*; Aesch. 1. 162 *ἀποδοθέντος τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτῷ καὶ λόγου*. The corresponding phrase in Latin to that here is 'meo loco.'

τρεῖς μ. ὅλους] 'and we were away to receive the oaths three whole months;' cf. infr. 155 *note*.

58 χρόνον ἦσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς σῷοι. ἥκομεν δὲ δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός, καὶ παρὴν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν Πύλαις ἤδη καὶ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπίστευον ἐκεῖνοι. σημεῖον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δεῦρ' ἦκον ὡς ὑμᾶς. ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ πράγματ' ἀπώλεσαν οὗτοι ψευσάμενοι καὶ φενακίσαντες ὑμᾶς, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ
59 δέκα ἐγίγνετο τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος. ἀπὸ τοίνυν ταύτης πεμπταῖα λογίζομαι τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φωκεῦσι γενέσθαι· παρῆσαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πρέσβεις ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τί ἀπαγγελλοῦσιν οὗτοι καὶ τί ψηφιεῖσθ' ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελὲς εἰδέναι. οὐκοῦν εἰκὰς ᾗ τίθεμεν πυθέσθαι τοὺς

§ 58. **σῷοι**] S, Bekk. st., Sh.; σῷ Dind. Bekk. st. reads with S σῶς (nom. sing.) in 21. 126; 23. 131; σῶν (neut. acc.) 20. 142; σῷοι infr. 153, 326; σῶς (acc. pl.) 5. 17; infr. 75; σώας (gen. sing.) infr. 78; σῷα (neut. pl.) Ps. Dem. 47. 20; σῷαν 21. 177; σῷα (fem. sing.) 56. 32. Dind. has the contracted forms throughout; σῶς masc. and fem. &c.; but he has left, by a misprint I presume, σῶα instead of σᾶ (neut. pl.) in 47. 20. Cf. Cob. *N. Lect.* p. 436; L. Dind. pref. to his ed. of Xen. *Anabasis*, p. ix.

σημεῖον δέ...] 'was making promises, none of which they believed; here is the proof; if they had, they would never have come to you;' γάρ referring to the implied protasis εἰ ἐπίστευον; 4. 51; Soph. *El.* 1022 πᾶν γὰρ ἂν κατειργάσω. Though Cobet (*N. Lect.* p. 419) peremptorily denies it, γάρ is sometimes omitted after σημεῖον δέ and similar expressions; 23. 207 τεκμήριον δέ· τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους μὲν οἰκίαν...'; 20. 152; 21. 35, 135; 18. 213; 31. 14; Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 73; Lys. 30. 29, and elsewhere. This was the Assembly already mentioned in § 34.

§ 59. **τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν**] supr. § 53; 'on the 5th day then from this I reckon that the report of your proceedings reached the Phocians.'

οἱ...πρέσβεις] Dem. would hardly have failed to make more use of this point, if Phocian envoys duly accredited had really been present. The circumstances mentioned on § 72 make it highly improbable that such was the case. Aesch. (2. 130) says οἱ δὲ Φαλαίκου τοῦ Φωκέων τυράννου δρομοκήρυκες τάνθένδε ἐκεῖσε διήγγελλον. According to Herodotus 6. 105, Pheidippides the Athenian ἡμεροδρόμος reached Sparta in the course of the second day. Judging from this, five days would be more than sufficient for the distance the Phocian couriers had to travel.

ἀπαγγελλοῦσιν] Madv. 132 b; 'were interested to know what these men would report and what resolution you would pass.' Bekk. st. has ἀπαγγέλλουσιν from S, a reading good in itself, but very improbable here in combination with ψηφιεῖσθε. Bekk. st. and Vöm. omit εἰδέναι with S, but Dind. and Sh. rightly retain it with L and the other MSS. Cf. Thuc. 1. 5; 4. 67, quoted by Dobree.

οὐκοῦν...] 'It was on the 20th then I reckon that the Ph. received intelligence of your proceedings, for that is the fifth day from the 16th,' both inclusive; lit. 'for from the 16th to that is the fifth day.' There would of course be no objection to making πέμπτη the subject from the

Φωκέας τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἕκτης εἰς ταύτην πέμπτη γίγνεται. ὑστέρα τοίνυν δεκάτη, ἐνάτη, ὀγδόη· ταύτῃ ἐγίγνονθ' αἱ σπονδαί, καὶ πάντα τἀκεῖ πράγματ'
60 ἀπολώλει καὶ τέλος εἶχεν. τῷ τοῦτο δῆλον; τῇ τετράδι φθίνοντος ἠκκλησιάζετε μὲν τόθ' ὑμεῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις, ἧκε δὲ Δερκύλος ἐκ Χαλκίδος 360 καὶ ἀπήγγελλεν ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα τὰ πράγματ' ἐγκεχείρικε Θηβαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ πέμπτην εἶναι ταύτην ἡμέραν ἐλογίζετ' ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν αἱ σπονδαί. ὀγδόη τοίνυν, ἑβδόμη, ἕκτη, πέμπτη, τετράς· αὐτὸ συμβαίνει εἰς ταύτην εἶναι πέμπτην. οὐκοῦν τοῖς χρόνοις, οἷς ἀπήγγελλον, οἷς ἔγραφον, πᾶσιν ἐξελέγχονται συνηγωνισμένοι Φιλίππῳ
61 καὶ συναίτιοι γεγονότες τοῦ τῶν Φωκέων ὀλέθρου. ἔτι τοίνυν τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἁλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ

absence of the article, it being as a rule omitted with ordinals; cf. δεκάτη in the next sentence; Thuc. 2. 103; 3. 25; Herod. 1. 84 ἐπειδὴ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη. Cf. Poppo (ed. min.) on Thuc. 2. 70 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ, which is suspicious on account of the insertion of the article.

δεκάτη] sc. φθίνοντος; 'then comes the 21st, 22nd, 23rd; on that day the truce was concluded, and all there was ruined and came to an end.'

§ 60. **ἠκκλησιάζετε**] Cf. Veitch, s.v.

ἐν Πειραιεῖ] in the theatre of Dionysus. Thuc. 8. 93 τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν [τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ] θέατρον; Lys. 13. 32 ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνυχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 32 τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. 'You were holding an assembly on the state of the dockyards.'

ἧκε] 'returned,' as above § 58. Dercylus was one of the Ambassadors: cf. § 125.

ταύτην] i.e. on which Philip did so; 'he computed that it was on the 5th day after the conclusion of the convention.'

ὀγδοή, sc. **φθίνοντος**] 'The 23rd, 24th... of itself it results (falls out exactly as the result of the reckoning) that the fifth day (πέμπτη being in the or. rect. the subject) falls on that;' αὐτό agreeing with a vague understood nominative 'it,' as in αὐτὸ δηλοῖ, αὐτὸ σημανεῖ; cf. 2. 20 *note*.

οὐκοῦν] 'So then by the dates, by their report, by their motion, by everything (1. 13; infr. 156 πάντα τὰ πράγματα) they stand convicted of having co-operated with P. and of having been the joint authors of the destruction of the Phocians.' K. thinking that Dem. is here summing up his argument from the dates only, tr. 'by the date of their report, by the date of their motion, by all the dates.' But Dem. is clearly recapitulating his argument from § 29, and τοῖς χρόνοις naturally comes first as having been last mentioned; and moreover in speaking of their motion Dem. makes no point of its date: cf. § 43.

§ 61. **ἁλῶναι**] a *praeteritum;* supr. § 24 παθεῖν.

ἐκ πρ. κατὰ κράτος] 'by assault and force of arms,' 'by storm')(πολιορκίᾳ 'blockade.' Cobet (*N. Lect.*

σπείσασθαι πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντας αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν γε ἠγνόουν. φέρε δή μοι καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τὰ δόγματα ὑφ' ὧν καθεῖλον αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη, ἵν' εἰδῆτε οἵων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν οἵων ἔτυχον διὰ τουτουσὶ τοὺς θεοῖς ἐχθρούς. λέγε.

ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ.

62 Ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρχε παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐστί, φιλία συμμαχία βοήθεια· ὧν δ' ἔτυχον διὰ τοῦτον τὸν βοηθῆσαι κωλύσανθ' ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσατε. λέγε.

ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ.

Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁμολογία Φιλίππου καὶ Φωκέων, φησίν, οὐχὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Φωκέων, οὐδὲ Θετταλῶν καὶ Φωκέων, οὐδὲ Λοκρῶν, οὐδ' ἄλλου τῶν παρόντων οὐδενός· καὶ πάλιν παραδοῦναι δὲ τὰς πόλεις Φωκέας φησὶ Φιλίππῳ, οὐχὶ Θηβαίοις οὐδὲ Θετταλοῖς οὐδὲ 361
63 ἄλλῳ οὐδενί. διὰ τί; ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀπηγγέλλετο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φωκέων σωτηρίᾳ παρεληλυθέναι. τούτῳ δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστευον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον πάντ'

p. 511) condemns κατὰ κράτος as a gloss inserted 'sciolorum fraude.' Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 1. 15 προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ, and compare the fulness of expression in 3. 6 παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν; Ps. Dem. 10. 59 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης.

ἐκεῖνόν γε] 'for they certainly were not ignorant what *he* was,' 'of his character;' cf. §§ 53, 324.

καθεῖλον] sc. οὗτοι (as συναίτιοι) and Philip; 'the decrees under which they razed their walls;' 23. 143 ἐξεδίδοντ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑμετέρου ψηφίσματος: Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 5 ὑπὸ ψηφίσματος...πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλάς; Arist. *Lysistr.* 269 ἐμπρήσωμεν αὐτόχειρες πάσας ὑπὸ ψήφου μιᾶς.

οἵων...οἵων] 'what they were entitled to from you and what treatment they met with through these miscreants.' Cf. for the idiomatic repetition of the correlative Soph. *Aj.* 557 οἷος ἐξ οἵου 'τράφης; *Electr.* 751 οἷ' ἔργα δράσας οἷα λαγχάνει κακά: Thuc. 5. 7; 7. 75. For the first οἵων Vöm. and the Zurich editors injudiciously read ὧν with ST, which is contrary to usage: Dind. has οἵων... ὧν. For ὑπαρχόντων comp. § 2 and ὑπῆρχε, 'they had a right to look for,' in the next section.

§ 62. **οὐδενός**] supr. 50. In that passage he says that only the Thebans and Thessalians, the bitter enemies of Phocis, were present; here it suited his argument to mention the rest.

καὶ πάλιν] 'and again, it (the convention) says, "the Ph. shall deliver up their towns to P;"' δέ marking the quotation as above, § 50.

§ 63. **παρεληλυθέναι**] 'had passed the straits to save the Ph.;' more

ἐσκόπουν, πρὸς τοῦτον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην. λέγε δὴ τἀπίλοιπα. καὶ σκοπεῖτε, τί πιστεύσαντες τί ἔπαθον. ἆρά γε ὅμοια ἢ παραπλήσια οἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγελλεν; λέγε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

64 Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεινότερα οὐ γέγονεν οὐδὲ μείζω πράγματ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. τηλικούτων μέντοι καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων κύριος εἷς ἀνὴρ Φίλιππος γέγονε διὰ τούτους, οὔσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, ᾗ προεστάναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάτριον καὶ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον περιορᾶν γιγνόμενον. ἓν μὲν

fully in 18. 35 παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν: 5. 20 Φίλιππον παρελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παροδούς: as here 6. 30. Cf. 6. 35: 9. 32 Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρόδων.

τούτῳ...πρὸς τοῦτον] clearly refer to Aeschines, the τούτου of the preceding sentence. The argument of the orator would be without meaning if we referred them to Philip. The sum of it is, that knowing Philip as they did (§ 61), they would never have put themselves into his hands, but for Aeschines' assurances. Tr. 'to Aeschines therefore they wholly trusted, to Ae. wholly looked, with Ae. concluded the peace.'

τί...τί] 'what they trusted to and what (in consequence) they suffered;' an idiomatic fusion of two interrogations in one, as 4. 3 ἡλίκην... πῶς; 4. 36 τὶ λαβόντα τὶ δεῖ ποιεῖν; 23. 107 οἵ τὶ πεποιηκότος αὐτοῖς Φιλίππου πῶς αὐτῷ χρῶνται; 'for whom what has Philip done and how do they treat him?'; Pl. *Hipp. Maj.* 297 E πῶς τὶ ἄρ' ἂν ἀγωνιζοίμεθα: *Theaet.* 208 E πῶς τὶ τοῦτο;

For τί...τί Vöm. and Dind. read τίνα...τί with S, which has also in 4. 36 τίνα λαβόντα τὶ δεῖ ποιεῖν; οἷα...οἷα γρ. S, which or τίνα...τίνα Dobree hastily thought required by the following clause. Cf. infr. 217 τὶ οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα: 9. 16 τὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν; Aesch. 3. 165 τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔπραξας καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔλεγες; Pl. *Hipp. Maj.* 285 D ἀλλὰ τί μήν ἐστιν ἃ ἡδέως σου ἀκροῶνται; Madv. 97 b. The plural does occur, but much less frequently: 23. 24 τίν' οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; and so 18. 246; Pl. *Phaed.* 58 C τίνα ἦν τὰ λεχθέντα and *ib.* 102 A.

§§ 64—66. *Athens, whose hereditary privilege it is to take the lead of Hellas, still exists, and yet Phocis, which stood by her in the day of her trouble, has been destroyed. Its desolation, I speak as an eye-witness, beggars description. What think you then our forefathers would say of those who have brought about results so disastrous?*

τηλικούτων...καὶ τ.] supr. § 44: 'yet of such mighty results Philip singly has become the controller by the help of these men.'

οὔσης] 'during the existence of:' 18. 72 ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων: 8. 17 ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ᾖ τὸ συνεστηκὸς στράτευμα, 'be kept up:' infr. 294 ὅτ' ἦν Ὄλυνθος.

ᾗ... πάτριον] A favourite topic with the Athenian Orators (n. to 4. 3), who vied with one another in attributing the interference of Athens in the politics of Hellas to her φιλανθρωπία and pure love of freedom and justice. But for this, the *epideictic* side of the question, we often find a candid admission that the interest of Athens ought to and did determine her conduct in such cases: 23. 102 ἴσθ' ὅτι συμ-

τοίνυν τρόπον οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς ἀπολώλασιν, οὐ
65 μόνον ἐκ τῶν δογμάτων τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ
τῶν ἔργων ἃ πέπρακται, θέαμα δεινὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
καὶ ἐλεεινόν· ὅτε γὰρ νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα εἰς Δελφοὺς, ἐξ
ἀνάγκης ἦν ὁρᾶν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα, οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας,
τείχη περιῃρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναια
δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλίγα καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς.
οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν
ὄντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι τὴν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Θηβαίοις ψῆφον

φέρει τῇ πόλει μήτε Θηβαίους μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχύειν, ἀλλὰ *τοῖς μὲν Φωκέας ἀντιπάλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλους τινὰς εἶναι*, *i.e.* the Arcadians and Messenians: 16. 9, 10, and *passim:* 15. 15: 8. 16: 18. 95.

π. γιγνόμενον] Cf. § 84 *note.*

§ 65. **νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα**] 'we were lately (the other day) on our way to D.,' on the *θεωρία* sent not long before this speech was delivered. They had refused to attend the festival of B.C. 346, at which Philip presided in conjunction with the Thebans and Thessalians; infr. 128. Grote, 11. 591. For *νῦν* cf. 2. 14 *νῦν δὲ Θετταλοῖς... ἐβοήθησε*: Ps. Dem. 10. 34 *πρότερον συνεπηνώρθωσε καὶ νῦν ἐπηγγέλλετο.* In 14. 23 Vöm. very injudiciously follows S in reading *νῦν παρελείπομεν*, which cannot possibly stand.

ἐξ ἀνάγκης] Isae. 2. 22 *ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν αὐτῷ...ποιήσασθαι*: Dem. 43. 8, 21, 47 *ἀναγνῶναι τὰς μαρτυρίας ταύτας ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν.* 'We were compelled to see' the signs of a country that was *ἀνάστατος*: supr. 39.

περιῃρημένα] infr. 220.

τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ] 'of its adult population,' those capable of bearing arms, from 17 to 45 years of age. 1. 28: Ps. D. 13. 4, where *οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ* are opposed to *οἱ ὑπὲρ κατάλογον*, for which we have in 3. 34 *ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας*, and Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 2. 4 *ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη.* The forms *γύναια* and *παιδάρια* are appropriate; besides being few, they were gaunt and wretched.

ἐφικέσθαι...] 'and wretched old men. No language can come up to the miseries now existing there.' 14. 1 *οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀξίως ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτο.* For the position of *ὄντων* see Madv. 9 a. r. Cf. 4. 33 *ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς*; 5. 8 *τἀκεῖ χρήματα ὀφειλόμενα*: 20. 55 *τὰς τότε δωρεὰς δοθείσας*: supr. 22 *τὴν ...γεγενημένην.* So with an adjective, 18. 271 *τὴν ἀπάντων ὡς ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινήν.*

ἀλλὰ μήν] introduces, as *atqui* in Latin (Madv. *De Fin.* 2. § 58), the minor premiss of the Enthymeme, the conclusion of which is drawn in the next sentence.

ψῆφον...] 'But that they gave the opposite vote to the Thebans about us on the question of our enslavement;' 'when it was proposed to enslave us,' in other words to make their city *ἀνάστατος.* Δουλεία in this context would not have implied more than *political subjection.* Cf. n. to 2. 8 and Arn. on Thuc. 5. 9 referred to by Sh. The Orator alludes to what took place after the surrender of Athens to Lysander, when *ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν*, Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2. 19: 6. 5. 35. (The Thebans, when afterwards seeking aid from Athens, repudiated this as the unauthorized act of one man, Xen. *Hell.* 3. 5. 8): Isocr. 14. 31 *οὐ δυστυχησάντων ἡμῶν μόνοι* (a characteristic exaggeration) *τῶν συμμάχων ἔθεντο* (the Thebans) *τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς χρὴ τήν τε πόλιν ἐξανδραποδί-*

ἔθεντο οὗτοι περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ προτεθεῖσαν,
66 ὑμῶν ἔγωγε ἀκούω πάντων. τίν' ἂν οὖν οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν, εἰ λάβοιεν αἴσθησιν, 36:
ψῆφον ἢ γνώμην θέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ τούτων
ὀλέθρου; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι κἂν καταλεύσαντας αὐτοὺς ταῖς
ἑαυτῶν χερσὶ καθαροὺς ἔσεσθαι νομίζειν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ
αἰσχρόν, μᾶλλον δ' εἴ τις ἔστιν ὑπερβολὴ τούτου, τοὺς
σεσωκότας ἡμᾶς τότε καὶ τὴν σώζουσαν περὶ ἡμῶν ψῆφον
θεμένους, τούτους τῶν ἐναντίων τετυχηκέναι διὰ τούτους καὶ
περιῶφθαι τοιαῦτα πεπονθότας οἷα οὐδένες ἄλλοι τῶν
'Ελλήνων; τίς οὖν ὁ τούτων αἴτιος; τίς ὁ ταῦτα φενακίσας;
οὐχ οὗτος;

67 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἄν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον

σασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον ὥσπερ τὸ Κρισαῖον πέδιον. In 15. 22 Dem. mentions the Argives as having voted for them.

66. **εἰ λάβοιεν...**] Comp. Lys. 13. 46: Dem. 20. 87 εἴ τινες τούτων τῶν τετελευτηκότων λάβοιεν τρόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ νυνὶ γιγνομένου πράγματος αἴσθησιν, ὡς ἂν εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσειαν: 23. 210: 27. 69. In 12. 100 Lysias goes beyond the conventional εἴ τις ἔστι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι αἴσθησις τῶν ζώντων (Pl. *Menex.* 248 D) and expresses to the Jurors his belief that the dead ἡμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας. 'What (cf. the next section) vote or judgment do you think your ancestors, could they get a sense of it, would pass on the authors of the destruction of the Phocians?'

ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ] Cf. infr. 148.

καθαρούς] 'clear of bloodguiltiness:' 9. 44: 20. 158. The ἄν in κἂν belongs to νομίζειν. In the next words εἴ τις...τούτου must be taken strictly together, balancing αἴσχρον; 'for is it not disgraceful or any thing worse than this if there be such a thing:' 'if it be possible, worse than disgraceful.'

σεσωκότας] Observe the perfect with τότε in combination with the aorist θεμένους. Cf. Isae. 3. 7 ἐπιδέδεικται τότε πᾶσι: Dem. 21. 7 ὕβρισμαι μὲν ἐγὼ καὶ προπεπηλάκισται τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν τότε: Aesch. 1. 43 πολλὰ... καὶ ἄλλα...πέπρακται Τιμάρχῳ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους: ib. § 40 ἃ δ' ἤδη φρονῶν...διαπέπρακται, 'he did:' Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 21 ὃν ἐὰν δείξῃς ἀφιγμένον πώποτε εἰς Μακεδονίαν: Lys. 7. 11 ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου...σηκὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκκεκόφθαι: Dem. 38. 8 πάντα ταῦτα ἀφεῖται τότε.

τὴν σώζουσαν] 'for our preservation')(καθαιροῦσαν Lys. 13. 37.

οὐδένες ἄλλοι] 'no other people:' 5. 5 οἷα τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες (no other people in the world) πώποτε πεπόνθασιν: supr. § 31 οὐδένας πρέσβεις; infr. 312: 1. 19 *note.*

π. πεπονθότας] Madv. 178 b: supr. 65 π. γιγνόμενον.

ὁ ταῦτα φ.] Sch. remarks that this construction is rare, and that of φενακίζειν τινά τι rarer still. Cf. 22. 34 ἄν τι φενακίζειν ἐγχειρῇ: infr. 72 ὧν (i. e. τούτων ἃ) πεφενάκικε τὴν πόλιν.

§§ 67—69. *Philip is to be congratulated on his unparalleled good fortune in finding always tools baser even than he wanted. He found your own ambassadors ready and willing to deceive you and do him a service he could not have got from his own ministers.*

πολλά] a *quantitative* accusative, Madv. 27 b: 'for many things one might congratulate Ph. on his good

εὐδαιμονίσας τῆς τύχης, εἰκότως τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσειεν ἁπάντων, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς θεὰς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ἔγωγε ἄλλον ὅστις εὐτύχηκεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις μεγάλας εἰληφέναι καὶ χώραν πολλὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποιῆσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλωτὰ μέν ἐστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ λαμπρά· πῶς γὰρ οὔ; ἔχοι δ' ἄν τις εἰπεῖν
68 πεπραγμένα καὶ ἑτέροις πολλοῖς. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴδιον καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἄλλῳ γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα. τὸ ποῖον; τὸ ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ ἐδέησε, πονηροτέρους εὑρεῖν ἢ ἐβούλετο. πῶς γὰρ οὐχ οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι δικαίως ὑπολημφθεῖεν ἄν, οἵ γε, ἃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

fortune (Madv. 61 b), but with the greatest justice for this most of all—a piece of good luck which has fallen to no one else that I can name in our time.' According to Vöm. and Dind. (praef. p. 30 Teubner) S has, according to Bekk. has not, the first ἂν. Dind. omits it on the authority of one MS.; why I cannot imagine. There can be no objection to the repetition of ἂν, instances of which though not abundant in Demosthenes are numerous enough to put the reading of the MSS. here beyond suspicion. Cf. 18. 168, 240: 4. 1: 21. 115: 29. 17: 46. 13: 36. 10: 33. 24: 34. 2. In all these exx. except the first, ἂν is repeated with an indicative, refuting Paley's dictum (on *Med.* 368) that 'the Attic writers rarely, if ever, repeat ἂν except with the optative.' Vöm. quotes 1. 10, where, by the way, he is guilty of the heresy, not uncommon among foreign scholars, of taking the first ἂν with the conditional participle, which gives us the next hypothetical sentence εἰ ἂν κατασταίη ἂν ἔχοι. Both belong there to ἔχειν as here to εὐδαιμονίσειε. In 20. 17 he reads ἧς ἂν τινος πολιτείας ... ἂν ἐξέλῃς, which is a solecism. The reason for the repetition of ἂν cannot be better stated than in the words of Herm. (*de partic.* Ἂν p. 188) 'quemadmodum quum ad totam sententiam pertinet negatio, iterari in partibus quibusdam solet, ut οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδείς, sic etiam quum tota sententia conditionalis est refertur ea conditio etiam ad partes ejus primarias. Sunt autem partes illae tales ut addant aliquid, quod illa principalis sententiae ratione afficiatur.'

ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ] So 18. 40, 44, 48, 71, &c. More rarely with the accusative, Pl. *Rep.* 348 D οἱ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη δυνάμενοι ... ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι: Dem. 23. 15 ὑφ' αὐτὸν ποιήσηται τὴν ἀρχήν. Cp. 6. 34 τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

ζηλωτά] 'are, no doubt, enviable and brilliant achievements, how can they be otherwise? but one might say that they have been accomplished by many others as well.'

68. **ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο**] takes up the τοῦτο of the first sentence; 'but this is a piece of good luck which is peculiarly his own and has occurred to no other man.' Cf. 18. 61.

οἵ γε] 'when for lies that Ph. did not dare to utter on his own behalf, notwithstanding their extreme importance to him, that he neither wrote in any letter nor any ambassador commissioned by him stated, they sold their services and deceived (§ 29) you by them.' οὔτ' which ought to have followed οὐδ' is postponed from considerations of euphony, as Vöm. observes, quoting Thuc. 5. 7. 2 καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐφαίνετο οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς οὔτε κατὰ πύλας ἐξῄει.

Φίλιππος τηλικούτων ὄντων αὐτῷ τῶν διαφόρων οὐκ ἐτόλμα ψεύσασθαι, οὐδ' ἔγραψεν οὔτ' εἰς ἐπιστολὴν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πρεσβευτὴς οὐδεὶς εἶπε τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐπὶ
69 ταῦτα μισθώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτων; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ ὁ Παρμενίων, δεσπότῃ διακονοῦντες καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ὑμῖν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐντεύξεσθαι, ὅμως τοῦθ' 363
εὕροντο, μὴ δι' αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίων, τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης πόλεως, πρέσβεις ταχθέντες ὑμᾶς, οἷς ἁπαντῶντας ἐμβλέπειν, οἷς συζῆν ἀνάγκη τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καὶ ἐν οἷς εὐθύνας ἤμελλον δώσειν τῶν πεπραγμένων, τούτους ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπέστησαν. πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωποι κακίους ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπονενοημένοι τούτων γένοιντο;
70 Ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι καὶ κατάρατός ἐστιν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐδ' ὅσιον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐσεβές ἐστι τοιαῦτ' ἐψευσμένον αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι, λέγε τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταυτηνί.

69. **ὁ μέν...οἱ δ'.**] 'And while A. and P., who were serving a master and were not likely to fall in with you afterwards, still gained (§ 17) this advantage that they were not the instruments of your deception, they, Athenians, accredited ambassadors of the freest state in the world, engaged to deceive you—you whom....' εὕροντο τό vulg.; εὗρον Υ; whence Sh. conjectures that there was a reading εὕρον τὸ μή, εὗρον being used in the sense of εὑρεῖν ἐρμαῖον (6. 22). But if so, I should rather think that εὗρον τό arose from an erroneous idea on the part of the copyist that the infinitive required the article (n. to 9. 23). But the middle is every way preferable, as it implies that notwithstanding the exigencies of their position, they were glad and took some pains to escape doing what Ae. and his colleagues readily undertook. Observe the taunt conveyed in δεσπότῃ; hence 9.32 κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας (at the Pythian games) πέμπει.

Ἀθηναίων] Bekk. st., Dind. Ἀθηναῖοι libri. The nom. seems undoubtedly right, independently of MS. authority. They as Athenians are contrasted with A. and P. Macedonians, while δεσπότῃ διακονοῦντες is opposed to τῆς ἐλ. πόλεως πρέσβεις.

ὑμᾶς ... οἷς ...τούτους] Sh. compares Thuc. 1. 83 οἵπερ...ἕξομεν... οὗτοι; and the use of *is* for *idem* in Latin; Plaut. *Rud.* 4. 5. 5 'ego hodie qui neque speravi, neque credidi, *is* improviso filium inveni tamen.' Cf. Cic. *pr. imp. Cn. Pomp.* § 33 'ut vos...ii;' ib. § 55 'nos...ii.'

ἀπονενοημένοι] 'can you conceive men more wicked or more abandoned than these?' 18. 249: Ps. D. 25. 32 τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτείας οὐ λογισμὸς οὐδ' αἰδὼς οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἀπόνοια ἡγεῖται: ib. ὁ γὰρ ἀπονενοημένος ἅπας αὐτὸν μὲν προεῖται καὶ τὴν ἐκ λογισμοῦ σωτηρίαν: 26. 19; Theophr. *Char.* 16.

§§ 70—71. *Aeschines has thus brought himself under the* Ἀρά, *with which he was well acquainted, having often in former days dictated it as clerk to the crier.*

λέγε...καὶ ἀνάγνωθι] Cf. 18. 305 λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών (so Bekk. st.), where as here λέγε is 'pronuntia,' and ἀναγνωθι 'de scripto

ΑΡΑ.

Ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ εὔχεται νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, καὶ ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ καθῆται, παρ' ἐκείνῃ πάλιν. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν τούτῳ ὡς οὐκ εὖ ᾔδει· ὑπογραμματεύων γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖτο τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
71 τῷ κήρυκι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἂν πεποιηκότες ὑμεῖς εἴητε, εἰ ἄρ' ἃ προστάττετε, μᾶλλον δ' ἀξιοῦτε ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τοὺς θεούς, ταῦτ' αὐτοὶ κύριοι γεγενημένοι τήμερον μὴ ποιήσαιτε, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐκείνοις εὔχεσθ' ἐξώλη ποιεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ γένος καὶ οἰκίαν, τοῦτον ἀφείητε αὐτοί; μηδαμῶς· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς λάθῃ, τοῦτον ἀφίετε τοῖς θεοῖς κολάζειν· ὃν δ' ἂν αὐτοὶ λάβητε, μηκέτ' ἐκείνοις περὶ τούτου προστάττετε.

72 Εἰς τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἀναιδείας καὶ τόλμης αὐτὸν ἥξειν ἀκούω

recita,' as Reiske rightly remarks: 'take and read aloud the curse here contained in the law.' With *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ν.* compare Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 4 *τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιτιμίοις*; infr. 281 *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου δίκην*: 24. 29 *τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἢ τὸν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρημένον χρόνον.* The vulg. omits the article before *ἐκκλησίαν*, which is in SLΥ. By its insertion the individuality of each assembly is more distinctly marked. Donalds. *Gr. Gr.* p. 354 is wrong in saying that in this case *ἕκαστος* must come first; cf. 18. 68 *κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην*; ib. 249; Thuc. 5. 47; 5. 49 *κατὰ τὸν ὁπλίτην ἕκαστον*: 6. 31 and 63.

ὁ κῆρυξ] cf. 18. 130, 282; 23. 97 *καταρᾶται καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ... εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν*, and Schöm. *De Com. Ath.* ch. 8.

ἐξηγεῖτο] 'praeibat verba:' 'as your under-clerk and servant to the C. (infr. § 200) he used himself to dictate this law to the crier.' Eur. *Med.* 745 *ἐξηγοῦ θεούς.*

71. **πῶς οὖν]** 'would it not then be a strange and monstrous proceeding on your part if you *should* fail yourselves to do to day when you have got it in your power, what you enjoin or rather require of the gods, and acquit yourselves a man whom you pray them to extirpate with his family and house,' the last words being from the *Ἀρά.* Antiph. 5. 11 *ἐξώλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπαρώμενον.* Below 172 and 18. 324 we have the fuller expression *ἐξώλης...καὶ προώλης.*

For the absence of *τι* with *ἄτοπον* cf. infr. 337: Pl. *Gorg.* 468 E *ἴσως οὖν ἄτοπον πεποίηκα*; *Rep.* 536 B *γελοῖον ἔοικε παθεῖν*: Soph. *Oed. Col.* 857 *δεινὸν λέγεις*: *Aj.* 1127; Thuc. 6. 21 *ἄξιον τῆς διανοίας δρᾶν.*

For *ἀφείητε* S has *ἀφίητε*, as in 6.41 *συνίητε* for *συνείητε.* Cf. Veitch, s. v. and Cobet, *N. Lect.* p. 378.

μηκέτι] *i. e.* 'do not in his case as in the other,' corresponding to the use of *ἤδη* in positive sentences: 3. 18; 5. 7; 18. 79 *τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν*: Pl. *Phaedr.* *ὅτι ἤδη ἔπη φθέγγομαι, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι διθυράμβους*; *Symp.* 204 D *οὐ πάνυ ἔφην ἔτι ἔχειν ἐγὼ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐρώτησιν... ἀποκρίνασθαι*, 'there, I said to her, you ask me a question I cannot answer.'

§§ 72—77. *I hear he intends to*

ὥστε πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐκστάντα, ὧν ἀπήγγειλεν, ὧν ὑπέσχετο, ὧν πεφενάκικε τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ κρινόμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅπαντ' εἰδόσι, πρῶτον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶτα Φωκέων, εἶθ' Ἡγησίππου κατηγορήσειν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα γέλως, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναισχυν-
73 τία δεινή. ὅσα γὰρ νῦν ἐρεῖ περὶ τῶν Φωκέων ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ τοῦ Ἡγησίππου, ὡς Πρόξενον οὐχ ὑπε-

throw the blame of what has happened upon the Spartans, Phocians, and Hegesippus. But how is this defence of himself to be reconciled with his declaration that he had prevailed on Philip to save the Phocians, or with the other hopes and promises he held out? What was done after that by the Phocians or Spartans to prevent their fulfilment?

Occupatio (the πρόληψις or προκατάληψις of the Greek *Technici*) of a defence which the orator affects to have heard that Aeschines intended to set up. Cic. *Orat.* § 138 'ut ante occupet quod videat opponi.' Cf. infr. 80, 147, 182; 20. 145 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκούω σε λέγειν: infr. 201 ἃ δ' ἐγὼ πέπυσμαι μέλλειν αὐτὸν λέγειν; 9. 47, and 1. 16 (note). Cf. Anaximenes, *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 19: Quintil. 6. 1. 20 'Sed saepius est id, accusatoris avertere judicem a miseratione, qua reus sit usurus atque ad fortiter judicandum concitare. Cujus loci est etiam occupare quae dicturum facturumve adversarium putes. Nam et cautiores ad custodiam suae religionis facit, et gratiam responsionis aufert, cum ea praedicta sunt ab accusatore; jam si pro reo petentur non sint nova:' infr. 237. Observe the separation of the preposition from its case. 20. 3, 114 πρὸς οὖν τί τοῦτο λέγω; 21. 139 καὶ πρὸς ἔτι ἕτεροι τούτοις; 29. 51 περὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τούτου.

ἥξειν ὥστε...κ.] 'I hear he means to carry his impudence and audacity so far that leaving all he has done he will accuse.' Sch. compares Herod. 1. 189 ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δή μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε...καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν...τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι = ποιήσω ... ὥστε ... διαβήσονται; cf. infr. § 152 *note.*

ὧν πεφ.] i.e. τούτων, ἅ; supr. 66. Aeschines makes no charge in his speech against the Spartans, but he does severely blame the Phocians and their leaders. 2. 131 sq. Hegesippus, not mentioned by Aeschines in his reply, is alluded to in his speech against Ktesiphon, § 118, under his nickname of Krobylus, ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας ἣν ὁ Κρώβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν (supr. 61, 62 φιλία, συμμαχία). But Dem. could hardly anticipate an attack on H. for that. It is more probable that H. who had come into collision with Aeschines in the affair of Timarchus (cf. Aesch. 1. 71), and lately become obnoxious to Philip and his adherents for the part he had taken about Halonnesus (infr. 331: Grote, 11. 617), had been prominent in dissuading the Athenians from marching out when summoned (supr. § 52) by the king (Aesch. 2. 137 οἱ δὲ νῦν πολεμικοὶ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανδρίαν καλοῦντες οὐ διεκώλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐξελθεῖν...δεδιέναι φάσκοντες μὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑμῶν ὁμήρους λάβῃ Φίλιππος); and Dem. probably expected Ae. to argue, as in fact he does (2. 140), that if it had not been for this, the presence of their troops would have enabled Philip to carry out his intention of saving the Phocians. But not being supported by them and hard pressed by the Thebans and Thessalians he had reluctantly yielded. In 6. 14 Dem. replies to this defence set up for Philip.

γέλως] is the predicate to τοῦτο: 1. 3

δέξαντο, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς εἰσίν, ὡς ὅ τι ἂν δή ποτ' αὐτῶν κατη-
γορῇ, πάντα δήπου ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς πρέσβεις τούτους
δεῦρ' ἥκειν ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐμποδὼν τῷ τοὺς Φωκέας
σώζεσθαι, ὡς τίς φησιν; Αἰσχίνης αὐτὸς οὑτοσί. οὐ
74 γὰρ ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, οὐδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον
οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο, οὐδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ δι' Ἡγήσιππον, οὐδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ
διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐσώθησαν ἂν οἱ Φωκεῖς, οὐχ οὕτω τότε ἀπήγ-
γειλεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπερβὰς διαρρήδην ἥκειν πεπει-
κὼς ἔφη Φίλιππον Φωκέας σώζειν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν οἰκίζειν,
ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα οἰκεῖα ποιεῖν· ταῦτα πεπράξεσθαι δυοῖν
ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, διὰ ταῦτα χρήμαθ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους

ὡς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος: 30. 26 λόγοι ταῦτα...ἐστι: Aesch. 2. 53 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν λῆρός ἐστιν.

§ 73. **Πρόξενον**...] About Sept. B.C. 347, the Phocians, alarmed at the report that Parmenio, who had entered Thessaly with an army, was about to march to Pylae, applied for aid to Sparta and Athens, offering to give up to them the towns commanding the Pass (Aesch. 2. 132). The Athenians at once ordered Proxenus, who was at Oreus, to secure the Pass, and passed a decree to send a squadron of 50 ships and all on the service-list under 30 years of age. But Phalaecus, who through some reaction was again in power, instead of putting Proxenus in possession of the towns, threw the Phocian envoys into prison on their return, and insulted the Athenians by taking no notice of their heralds who were at that time proclaiming the truce of the lesser Eleusinian Mysteries; while the Spartans were told τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης δεινὰ δεδιέναι καὶ μὴ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, Aesch. 2. 132 sq. Cf. supr. 50 *note*.

ὡς (sc. **εἰσὶν**) **ὅ τι**] 'that they are impious (as having robbed the Temple), that they are whatever else he may accuse them of.'

ἥκειν] 'returned,' as § 60.

καὶ οὐκ] 'and was no obstacle to the Ph. being saved—as who says? why Ae. himself,' i.e. by the terms of his report, as stated below.

ἐμποδὼν ... **σώζεσθαι**] Cf. infr. 212; Madv. 156. r. 3.

§ 74. **εἰ μὴ διά**]=our 'but for:' infr. § 90: 23. 180 εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφήν: Lys. 12. 60. Comp. the use of '*per*' in such passages as Cic. *De Fin.* II. § 92 'consequatur summas voluptates non modo parvo sed per me nihilo;' Livy 22. 21 'quietum...tempus fuisset .. per Poenum hostem.' οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο repeated from § 71 must be taken strictly together.

τὸ καὶ τό] 9. 68 ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι: 18. 243: 21. 141: Proem. 50. § 2 ὅπως μὴ τὰ καὶ τὰ γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ὅπως τά: Lys. 19. 53 καί μοι κάλει τὸν καὶ τόν. 'For not that but for the L. or but for their refusal to receive Pr. or but for H. or but for this thing or that the Ph. would have been saved—this was not what he reported then, but....' διαρρήδην must be taken with ἔφη.

Β. οἰκίζειν] i.e. Plataea and Thespiae; supr. § 21.

οἰκεῖα...]=the πάντα τὰ πράγματα ... πράξειν ἐκείνοις of 76, 77; 'settle everything to your advantage,' 'throw everything into your hands;' cf. supr. § 20.

πεπράξεσθαι] 'that two or three days would see this accomplished.' Madv. 115 b.

75 ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, μὴ τοίνυν ἃ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦτον ἀπαγγεῖλαι ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ Φωκεῦσιν ἀκούετε μηδ' ἀνέχεσθε, μηδὲ κατηγορεῖν ἐᾶτε Φωκέων ὡς πονηροί. οὐδὲ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ποτ' ἐσώσατε, οὐδὲ τοὺς καταράτους Εὐβοέας τουτουσί, οὐδ' ἄλλους πολλούς, ἀλλ' ὅτι συμφέρον ἦν σῶς εἶναι τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ Φωκέας νυνί. καὶ τί τῶν Φωκέων ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοὺς παρὰ τούτου λόγους ἐξαμαρτόντος οὐκ ἀπέβη τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τούτου τότε ῥηθέντα; τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾶτε· οὐ γὰρ ἔξει δεῖξαι. πέντε γὰρ 3(
76 ἡμέραι γεγόνασι μόναι ἐν αἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ψευδῆ, ὑμεῖς ἐπιστεύσατε, οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπύθοντο, ἐνέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, ἀπώλοντο. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ δῆλόν ἐστι σαφῶς ὅτι πᾶσα

§ 75. **ἀνέχεσθε**] sc. ἅ... 'bear with it:' 6. 11 ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον: infr. 182 ἀνάσχησθε ὡς οὐ δεῖ, which is virtually the same construction.

κατηγορεῖν ... ὡς] 'charge the Ph. with being wicked;' lit. 'say of the Ph. by way of κατηγορία that they are wicked.' Cf. Isocr. 16. 10 αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦσιν ὡς...ἐπετείχισε: Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 12 διαβάλλουσιν ὡς ἡμεῖς...ἥκομεν: Arist. *Vesp.* 1140 λοιδοροῦσί με ὡς ἄδικος εἰμι... For οὐδὲ γάρ S has οὐ γάρ, and so Vöm., Dind., and the Zur. Ed. The passages which Vöm. quotes (infr. 77: 2. 10, 27, &c.) are altogether irrelevant. Cf. 23. 191 quoted below. 'For no more was it for their merit...but because it was for your interest (n. to § 64) that they should be safe.' 23. 191 οὐ δὴ δεῖ μνησικακεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτ' ἐσώζομεν (after the battle of Leuctra), οὐκ ἀνεμμνησκόμεθα εἴ τι κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς ὄντες ἐχθροί, οὐδὲ Θηβαίους, οὐδ' Εὐβοέας τὰ τελευταῖα νυνί (n. to 1. 8): 16. 14: 18. 98.

τουτουσί] Sch. says 'hos quos nunc servastis')(ποτ' as said of the Spartans. It seems impossible that the word can bear this sense. If Dem. had wished to express that the deliverance of the Euboeans was recent he would have done so as in the two passages quoted. It is obviously used ἀναφορικῶς, as in 23. 211 Αἰγινήτας τουτουσί: ib. 212 Μεγαρέας τουτουσὶ τοὺς καταράτους: ib. 111 ἴστε δήπου Φίλιππον...τουτονὶ τὸν Μακεδόνα: infr. 193 Σάτυρον τουτονί and 225 Πυθοκλέα τουτονί.

καὶ τί...] Madv. 181; 'and what fault did the Ph. commit that the statements then made by Ae. were not fulfilled;' as we say 'did not come off.' Sh. appositely quotes Thuc. 4. 39 καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιωδὴς οὖσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη.

παρὰ τ. λόγους] supr. § 49.

ἔξει δεῖξαι] An unintentional assonance not very euphonious to our ears, with which comp. § 82 ἀμύνεσθαι δύνασθαι: § 115 κρίνεσθαι βούλεσθαι: 23. 109 ἐπίστασθαι βουλεύσασθαι: ib. 53 ἐξεῖναι κτεῖναι: supr. 29 οὗτος εἴπερ ὥσπερ οὗτος.

§ 76.] Observe the life and movement imparted to the next sentence by the asyndeta, and comp. 9. 39, 73: 8. 69, 76: 18. 96: 21. 72, 100.

πᾶσα ἀπάτη] So S, L, vulg. Sh.; πᾶσα ἡ ἀπάτη, Bekk. st. after Markland: ἡ πᾶσα ἀπάτη Dind. But the Orator clearly means to say, as Sh. points out, not that the whole artifice had for its object the ruin of the Phocians, but that artifice of every kind was used to secure that end. The article is therefore out of place;

ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου. ὃν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Φίλιππος μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετεπέμπετο, πάντα τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑποσχόμενος πράξειν ἐκείνοις, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ὑποποιήσωνται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἧκεν εἰς Πύλας, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπεχώρησαν, τοῦτον αὖ προκαθῆκεν ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ὑμῶν αἰσθομένων ὅτι Θηβαίοις τὰ πράγ-

as it is in 24. 205, where Bekk. and Dind. read *εἰ δέ τις εἰσφέρει νόμον ἐξ οὗ τοῖς ὑμᾶς βουλομένους ἀδικεῖν ἡ πᾶσα ἐξουσία καὶ ἄδεια γενήσεται.* Cf. infr. § 164: Pl. *Rep.* 572 D *ἀγόμενον εἰς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ἐλευθερίαν ἁπᾶσαν*, 'perfect liberty:' Soph. *Phil.* 927 *πᾶν δεῖμα.* Tr. 'whence, I imagine, it clearly appears that every kind of (pure) fraud and artifice was contrived for the destruction of the Phocians...' For *τοῦ περὶ Φ.* cf. § 29 *note.*

τοῦ...ὀλέθρου] 'for,' 'to bring about.' Madv. 65 b. 18. 100 *ἅς... ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται*; 24. 133 *τοῦ πιστευθῆναι.* Madv. 170 c. r.

διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην] 'owing to the peace,' which though settled and agreed upon (infr. 78 *ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας*) was not yet formally concluded, as Philip had not yet taken the oaths. Bekk. st. with inferior MSS. reads *μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην.* In 9. 15: Ps. Dem. 7. 37: 10. 8, in order to aggravate Philip's offences, he is charged with having taken the towns in Thrace after the oaths were administered to him. In this speech and in the De Corona where the Orator is concerned with the envoys, Philip is represented as having been enabled to make those conquests through the neglect of the envoys to take the oaths of him. Here Dem. means to say apparently that if Philip had shown his hand at once, the thing had not gone so far but that the Athenians might have drawn back. The time referred to is May B.C. 346, when Philip on his return from Thrace found the envoys at Pella waiting to swear him to the peace. Not being quite ready to march southward, he, says Dem. 18. 32 *ὡνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν* (his colleagues) *ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο.* Envoys were present at the same time from Phocis, Euboea, Thebes, and Sparta, those of the last-named city probably at Philip's invitation, and with the object here mentioned. Grote, 11. 560 sq.

πράξειν ἐκείνοις] 'do everything in their interest:' § 77 *Θηβαίοις τὰ πράγματα πράττει*; infr. 341. For the conj. *ὑποποιήσωνται* see the next section: 'might not gain them over to their side through you.' Plut. *Pericl.* c. 9 *ἐν ἀρχῇ.. ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δῆμον.* In a *bad* sense, Arist. *Pol.* 5. 4 *θατέρου γὰρ ἀποδημοῦντος ἑταῖρος ὤν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο*, 'seduced.'

§ 77. **τὴν ἐνέδραν**] Cf. § 50.

προκαθῆκεν] 'he again put forward this man to deceive you.' Reiske rightly explains the word to mean 'aliquam praemittere, submittere, subornare, qui ante tuum adventum omnia, quae tu parata velis, praeparet atque instruat.' Plut. *Arat.* c. 38 *Ὁ Πολυβίος δ' αὐτὸν... φησί... τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας προκαθιέναι δεομένους Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον.* Plut. *Crass.* c. 21 *Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθεῖναι πειρασόμενον μάχης.* Cf. 29. 46 *τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν λόγον καθῆκεν*, which may be compared with Arist. *Vesp.* 174 *οἷαν πρόφασιν καθῆκεν ὡς εἰρωνικῶς.*

ματα πράττει εἰς χρόνους καὶ πόλεμον καὶ τριβὴν ἐμπέσῃ, τῶν μὲν Φωκέων ἀμυνομένων ὑμῶν δὲ βοηθούντων, ἀλλ' ἀκονιτὶ πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσηται· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. μὴ οὖν ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Φωκέας ἐξηπάτησε Φίλιππος, διὰ ταῦθ' ὧν ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἐξηπάτησε μὴ δότω δίκην· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.

78 *Ἂν τοίνυν ἀντὶ Φωκέων καὶ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων Χερρόνησος ὡς περίεστι τῇ πόλει λέγῃ, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἀποδέξησθε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί,*

ἐμπέσῃ...ποιήσηται] Mr Whiston thinks the subjunctives remarkable. Surely not so remarkable as the fact that the editor of an Orator thinks them so. No doubt strict rule requires the optative, which would mark that the clause was dependent and moreover dependent on a past tense. But in order to impart animation to the narrative and present the matter more vividly to the hearer or reader the Greeks very often, marking merely the dependence of the clause, omitted the reference to the past and used the mood of the *or. recta.* In some writers this is more frequent than others; e. g. Lysias in his first speech uses the subj. with ἵνα after a past tense in §§ 4, 9, 10, 11 and 12; which and similar cases might be presented in the form used in Dem. 24, 160 τοῦτον προυβάλετο, εἰπὼν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστίαν, ἵν', ἔφη, συνδιοικῇ μοι. In not a few instances the subj. and opt. are found side by side. Thuc. 3. 22: 6. 96: 7. 17 and 70: Lys. 32. 22: Dem. 23. 32: Ps. D. 49. 14 ἵνα διαδοίη τοῖς Βοιωτίοις τριηράρχοις καὶ παραμένωσιν ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ ἡ κρίσις γένηται—cases in which it would be as vain to attempt to establish any difference of meaning as in object sentences where after a past tense we have the opt. and present indicative together, e. g. Xen. *An.* 4. 5. 10 αἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην: Dem. 32. 8 λέγων ὡς αὐτὸς ... ἐκεῖθέν ἐστι καὶ ὁ ναύκληρος εἴη καὶ οἱ δεδανεικότες Μασσαλιῶται, where in the *or. r.* both would necessarily be in the present indicative. Madv. 119 with the r.: Goodwin, 44. 2. Tr. 'might not if you perceived that he was acting in the interest of Thebes be involved in fresh delays, war and embarrassment,' by the Phocians defending themselves. Cf. infr. 322.

ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ] cf. § 67. Μή and δότω must be taken strictly together 'do not let him...not give:' 'do not then because P. deceived the Ph. and L. let this man on that account escape punishment for the deceit he practised upon you.' Madv. 209 a. Dem. 22. 29 μὴ διὰ ταῦτα οἷον σοι προσήκειν μὴ δοῦναι δίκην: 18. 13 οὐ γὰρ δήπου... ἐμὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο: 36. 22 οὐ δήπου...οὐκ ἂν ἠδίκει, 'surely he would not have forborne to injure:' Andoc. 1. 22 καὶ μὴ τοὺς ... παραδιδόντας μὴ ἐθέλειν ἐλέγχειν.

§§ 78, 79. *Answer to the defence he may probably set up, that in compensation for Phocis the Chersonese is preserved to us.*

ἀποδέξησθε] 'do not admit the plea nor endure that in addition to the wrongs you have suffered by the embassy a reproach should further be cast on the city by his defence.' The verb is constructed in the orators (1) with an *acc.* of the thing, supr. 75; Lys. 4. 18 ἀποδέχεσθαι τοὺς τούτου λόγους; (β) an *acc.* of the person, Lys. 12. 28 αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα... πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι; (γ) a *gen.* of the person with a participle, 56. 31 μὴ...ἀποδέχεσθε τούτου φενακίζοντος ὑμᾶς; (δ) absolutely, as here, 40. 38 περὶ

μηδ' ὑπομείνητε, πρὸς οἷς ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ἠδίκησθε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὄνειδος προσκατασκευασθῆναι τῇ πόλει, ὡς ἄρα ὑμεῖς τῶν ἰδίων τι κτημάτων ὑπεξαιρούμενοι τὴν τῶν συμμάχων σωτηρίαν προήκασθε. οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης γεγοννίας καὶ τῆς Χερρονήσου 366
σώας οὔσης τέτταρας μῆνας ὅλους ἐσώζοντο οἱ Φωκεῖς τοὺς ὕστερον, ἡ δὲ τούτου ψευδολογία μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον αὐτοὺς) ἀπώλεσεν, ἐξαπατήσασα ὑμᾶς. εἶτα καὶ νῦν ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ τὴν Χερρόνησον οὖσαν εὑρήσετε ἢ τότε. πότερον γὰρ εὐπορώτερον ἂν δίκην ἔδωκε Φίλιππος ἐξαμαρτὼν εἰς αὐτὴν πρὶν τούτων τι τῆς πόλεως προλαβεῖν, ἢ νυνί; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, τότε πολλῷ. τίς οὖν ἡ ταύτης περιουσία τῶν φόβων ἀφῃρημένων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν τοῦ βουληθέντος ἂν αὐτὴν ἀδικῆσαι;

0 Ἔτι τοίνυν τοιοῦτό τι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀκούω λέγειν, ὅτι

τούτου ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ λέγειν, οὐκ οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἀποδέξεσθαι, Madv. 60 a. r. 1.

Διὸς καὶ θεῶν] a common expression (supr. 45 n.), with which compare Arist. *Νυβ.* 413 εὐδαίμων ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενήσει. But hardly less common are the more natural forms πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Aesch. 1. 70; Dem. 9. 54; 18. 129; Ps. D. 10. 25 νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεούς; 23. 188; 8. 49 νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ π. τοὺς θεούς and so Ps. D. 10. 7.

ὡς ἄρα] 'the reproach that you secretly making a reservation for some of your own possessions sacrificed the welfare of your allies.' Apparently there are only two exx. of the use of προηκάμην in good Attic prose, here and in § 84. Cf. Veitch, p. 287.

σώας] Cf. supr. 58.

ἐσώζοντο] = σῷοι ἦσαν 'remained safe.' Cf. 9. 69, where ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος is followed by ἕως ἐσμὲν σῷοι. The peace was concluded on the 19th of Elaphebolion (March) and the Phocians capitulated on the 23rd of Skirophorion (June), three months and four days afterwards.

§ 79. On the danger that then threatened the Chersonese, see Grote, 11. 623.

τῆς π. προλαβεῖν] supr. 28; 18. 26: 'whether would it have been easier to punish P. for molesting it before he gained any of these advantages over us [snatched any of these advantages (the Phocians and the straits) from us] or now?'

ἐγὼ μέν] Cf. § 148.

τίς] 'of what kind,' for which ποία might be substituted; Aesch. 3. 176 σκοπεῖτε μή τίς φησιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ τίς ἔστιν; infr. § 282. 'What sort of a preservation of it then is this, when the fears have been removed and the dangers of the person who would have liked to seize upon it;' 'would have attacked it if he dared;' βουληθέντος ἄν representing ἐβουλήθη ἄν of the *or. r.*; 'who had the will, and only wanted the power and opportunity.' Madv. 184.

§§ 80—81. *He will, I hear, express his surprise that if the charges I make against him be true, the Phocians do not come forward to accuse him. This though easily explained is beside the question. Let him shew that the Phocians have not been ruined or that he did not promise that Philip would save them.*

ἀκούω] supr. § 72.

θαυμάζει τί δή ποτε Δημοσθένης μὲν αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ, Φωκέων δ' οὐδείς. ὡς δὴ τοῦτ' ἔχει, βέλτιον προακοῦσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ. Φωκέων τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων οἱ μὲν οἶμαι βέλτιστοι καὶ μετριώτατοι φυγάδες γεγενημένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσειεν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συμφορῶν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἀνελέσθαι· οἱ δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἀργυρίου ποιήσαντες τὸν δώσοντα οὐκ ἔχουσιν
81 αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἂν ἔδωκα οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε μοι παραστάντας ἐνταυθοῖ βοᾶν οἷα πεπόνθασιν· ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὰ

Φωκέων δ' οὐδεὶς] In his reply (2. 142 sq.) Ae. argues that the groundlessness of the charge brought against him was shown by the fact that the Boeotian exiles had sent delegates (συνήγοροι) to assist him in his defence and envoys were come ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πολέων in gratitude for his interposing in the Amphictyonic council to save the Oeteans after the capitulation of Phocis (Grote, 11. 489). Here Dem. insinuates that as the state and circumstances of the respectable portion of the expatriated Phocians and the commonalty at home sufficiently explained why they did not come forward to support him, those who appeared on the other side, if such there were, must be persons who, careless of the wrongs of their country, would do anything for money (infr. 120). He himself could have got some to come forward by using the same means; but what need when the facts cried aloud.

προακοῦσαι] Cf. 22. 3 βέλτιον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι; but in 2. 4; 24. 190; we have the perfect βέλτιον προακηκοέναι 'to have heard' so as to be prepared for after judgement. Cf. Aesch. 3. 11 and 35 ἃς (τέχνας) ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες; Lys. 6. 35.

βέλτιστοι] 'the best,' i.e. in birth and social rank, in which sense it is often used by Xenophon, Hell. 7. 3. 4 στασιασάντων ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου. Cf. Donalds. *New Cratyl.* § 322.

μετριώτατοι] 'most respectable')(οἱ δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἀργυρίου ποιήσαντες. τοιαῦτα, i.e. such as exile involves, the inevitable hardships and distresses of exile. Lys. 1. 18 εἰς μύλωνα ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι κακοῖς τοιούτοις κατεχομένην. Cf. infr. 92.

οἱ δ'] 'while those who would do anything for money cannot find any one to give it them.' Some MSS. have ποιήσοντες, as in § 342 τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἂν ..ποιήσοντας. The passages are so similar that I am surprised Sh. there retains the future which, with Bekk. st., he rejects here. See the note there.

§ 81. **ὥστε...βοᾶν**] Madv. 166 b: Dem. 6. 11, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ with the note.

ἐνταυθοῖ] L, Ω, Sh.; ἐνταυθί Bekk. st., Vöm., Dind. who, following Elmsley (on Arist. *Ach.* 152), changes ἐνταυθοῖ wherever it occurs into ἐνταυθί. Some scholars, as Stallbaum (Pl. *Phileb.* 15 A), going upon the analogy of ποῖ, οὐδαμοῖ and πανταχοῖ, make ἐνταυθοῖ everywhere = 'huc,' 'hither.' Hermann who, on Arist. *Nub.* 813, had laid it down that ἐνταυθοῖ is 'huc,' ἐνταυθί 'hic,' changed his opinion, as was not unusual with him, and on Eur. *Iph. T.* 984 says 'usu, ut in πέδοι aliisque, factum est ut ἐνταυθοῖ etiam sine motus significatione diceretur.' Vömel holding ἐνταυθί and ἐνταυθοῖ to be *locatives* and to express both motion to and rest in a place, is of opinion that ἐνταυθί alone belongs to the 'vulgaris Atticus sermo,' because it is often found in the comic

πεπραγμένα αὐτὰ βοᾷ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅ γε δῆμος ὁ τῶν Φωκέων οὕτω κακῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς διάκειται ὥστε μὴ περὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἑκάστῳ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν εὐθύνας εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ δουλεύειν καὶ τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, οὓς ἀναγκάζονται τρέφειν διῳκισμένοι κατὰ
82 κώμας καὶ παρῃρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. μὴ δὴ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτὸν 367
ἐᾶτε, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἀπολώλασι Φωκεῖς δεικνύναι, ἢ ὡς οὐχ ὑπέσχετο σώσειν αὐτοὺς Φίλιππον. τοῦτο γάρ εἰσι πρεσβείας εὔθυναι, τί πέπρακται; τί ἀπήγγειλας; εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ,

but never in the tragic poets, referring to Arist. *Nub.* 814; *Ranae* 273 and other passages, 'in quibus omnibus,' he naively remarks, 'nunc editum est ἐνταυθί plerumque secundum Ravennatem;' a somewhat Dousterswivel-like method of criticism which finds a treasure itself has hidden. For his 'plerumque' we should read 'semel,' the fact being that the Ravenna ms. has ἐνταυθί only in Lysistr. 570, but elsewhere, if we may trust Dindorf's silence, ἐνταυθοῖ. Hermann's view agrees with the facts as they lie before us in the best editions. Isae. 6. 21 κατοικισθεῖσα δ' ἐνταυθοῖ; Andoc. 1. 150 ἀναβάντες ἐνταυθοῖ: Pl. *Apol.* 18 D ἀναβιβάσασθαι ..... ἐνταυθοῖ; in these and similar passages it is clearly 'huc,' as here. But in Andoc. 1. 89 ἐνταυθοῖ ἔστιν ὅ, τι ὑπολείπεται: Antiph. 5. 2 and 10: Aesch. 2. 50 (Schultz) ἃ ἐνταυθοῖ γέγραπται: ib. 85 ὁ μὲν ... ἐπιδακρύσας ἀρτίως ἐνταυθοῖ: Hyper. *Fun. Or.* l. 99 τῷ ἐνταυθοῖ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν μάχην: Lys. 12. 50 (Scheibe) εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐνταυθοῖ δῆλος ἔσται, it is as clearly 'hic.' For the use of the word in Dem. cf. infr. 311. Tr. 'For I would not have paid any of them anything to come and standing here by my side cry out what things they have suffered.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν...γε] Cf. § 7: 'moreover the commonalty of the Ph. is in such a wretched condition that the question with each is not about their appearing as prosecutors at audits at Athens but they are all slaves frightened to death at the Thebans.'

κ. εὐθύνας] Madv. 26 b. For the *acc.* after τεθνᾶσι τῷ φόβῳ, cf. supr. § 22; 4. 45 οἱ...σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους: Eur. *Bacch.* 1267 λέγ', ὡς τὸ μέλλον καρδία πήδημ' ἔχει: Soph. *Oed. Col.* 223 δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὅσ' αὐδῶ; ib. 589 τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ ἢ λῆστιν ἴσχεις, ἢ δι' οὐδενὸς ποιεῖ. Madv. 22 b. With περὶ...λόγον, cf. 20. 68 περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐποίησε τῇ πόλει τὸν λόγον πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι 'put us into a position to dispute.'

δ. κατὰ κώμας] 'scattered over villages:' infr. 325: 5. 10 τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικεῖν. Isocrates uses διοικίζειν as synonymous with ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν. Isocr. 4. 126 τὴν μέν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν and 8. 100 Μαντινέας δὲ διῴκισαν. Cf. Cobet, *N. Lect.* p. 289. How repugnant to Greek feeling this was is well shown by Grote 2. 345 sq. The word is used in Lys. 32. 14 of a removal from one residence to another, ἐν...τῇ διοικίσει, ὅτ' ἐκ Κολλυτοῦ διῳκίζετο εἰς τὴν Φαίδρου οἰκίαν, which is probably a unique ex. of the sense.

παρῃρημένοι] Cf. n. to 198 παροινουμένη.

§ 82. With δεικνύναι we must supply κελεύετε from μὴ ἐᾶτε. Cf. § 41.

τοῦτο...] 'for the account of an embassy consists of this:' or, as K., 'these are the questions at the account of.' Madv. 98 a. Dem. 47.

σώζου· εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ, δίκην δός. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάρεισι Φωκεῖς, τί τοῦτο; οὕτω γὰρ διέθηκας αὐτοὺς οἶμαι τὸ μέρος σὺ ὥστε μήτε τοῖς φίλοις βοηθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι δύνασθαι.

83 Καὶ μὴν ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀδοξίας ἣν τὰ πεπραγμένα ἔχει, καὶ μεγάλοι κίνδυνοι περιεστᾶσιν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν, ῥᾴδιον δεῖξαι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅτι τῷ Φωκέων πολέμῳ καὶ τῷ κυρίους εἶναι Πυλῶν Φωκέας τε ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἄδεια ὑπῆρχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ μηδέποτ' ἂν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον μηδ' εἰς Εὔβοιαν μηδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Φίλιππον μηδὲ Θηβαίους; ταύτην μέντοι τὴν
84 ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει ταῖς τούτων ἀπάταις καὶ ψευδολογίαις πεισθέντες προήκασθ' ὑμεῖς, καὶ τετειχισμένην ὅπλοις

7 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ αἰκία: 57. 34 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ συκοφάντης: Aesch. 2. 165.

σώζου] 'take your acquittal'

τὸ μέρος] 'for your part,' '*you* did your best to bring them into such a state...;' infr. 107 τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου μέρος: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 17 τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν μέρος: ib. 47 τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέρος: ib. 97 κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος: Thuc. 1. 74; 1. 127. Madv. 31 c.

ἀμύνεσθαι δύνασθαι] cf. supr. n. to 75 ἕξει δεῖξαι.

§§ 83—87. *Athens has not only been disgraced by the ruin of old allies but exposed to serious danger by the opening to Philip and the Thebans of the road to southern Hellas. The hostility of Thebes to you and her attachment to Philip have been increased by the betrayal of your feelings, into which you were led by these men's promises, and in glaring contrast with those promises you have been in continual alarm at reports of Philip's approach.*

καὶ μήν] Cf. on § 7.

τῆς ἄλλης] 'independently of the general disgrace.' This use of ἄλλος in the sense of 'besides,' 'to boot,' is very common and idiomatic. Aesch. 1. 82 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τἆλλα δικαστήρια: Isocr. 5. 148 τὴν ἥτταν τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἢ τὰς ἄλλας νίκας: Pl. *Phaedr.* 232 E τὸν τρόπον ἔγνωσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων ἔμπειροι ἐγένοντο 'your disposition and that of your relations as well:' infr. 102. So also Antiph. 6. 24 οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἰδιῶται: Thuc. 4. 67.

ἔχει] supr. § 28.

τίς γάρ...] 18. 315, τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 29 τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε...and so 18. 132: 40. 57, a less usual order. On the rhetorical value of such questions Aristotle acutely remarks (*Rhet.* 3. 7. 7) πάσχουσι δέ τι καὶ οἱ ἀκροαταί, ᾧ κατακόρως χρῶνται οἱ λογόγραφοι 'τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν;' 'ἅπαντες ἴσασιν·' ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἀκούων αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅπως μετέχῃ οὗπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες. 'Security on the side of Th. was assured to us and the impossibility of Ph. or the Thebans ever getting to Attica.' Cf. n. to 18.

μ. ἂν ἐλθεῖν] i. e. ἂν ἔλθοι. Madv. 173. 21. 138 πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν...παθεῖν. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 4. 1. 39 ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ μηθενὶ ἂν δοῦναι: 8. 4. 3 καὶ τὸ μηδέποτ' ἂν ἀδικῆσαι: 9. 1. 7.

§ 84. **προήκασθ'**] supr. 78.

καὶ πολέμῳ συνεχεῖ καὶ πόλεσι μεγάλαις συμμάχων ἀνδρῶν καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ περιείδετ' ἀνασταθεῖσαν. καὶ ματαία μὲν ἡ πρότερον βοήθεια εἰς Πύλας ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ἣν μετὰ πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων ταλάντων ἐποιήσασθε, ἂν λογίσησθε τὰς ἰδίας δαπάνας τὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων, μά-
85 ταιαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐλπίδες. ὃ δέ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ δεινῶν ὧν οὗτος ὑπηρέτηκε Φιλίππῳ, πλείστην ὕβριν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἁπάντων ὑμῶν, τοῦτ' ἀκούσατέ μου, ὅτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγνωκότος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου πάνθ' ἃ πεποίηκε ποιεῖν, οὗτος ἀπαγγείλας τά- 368
ναντία καὶ φανεροὺς ἐπιδείξας ὑμᾶς οὐχὶ βουλομένους ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν

ἀνασταθεῖσαν] i. e. 'you looked on and saw it ruined' without stepping in to stop the work of destruction. 18. 63: Thuc. 2. 20. The infinitive would have meant 'you suffered it to be ruined,' i. e. did not interfere to prevent the projected ruin. Thuc. 2. 20 τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζεν... ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. So αἰσχύνομαι ποιεῖν is 'I am ashamed to do it' and therefore don't do it: 'I can not for shame do it:' αἰσχύνομαι ποιῶν 'I am ashamed while doing it:' 'I do it but with shame.' Madv. 177. 'And fortified though it was by arms, and a constant war, and great cities of allies (the Phocians), you suffered it to be ruined,' 'made desolate,' in reference to τετειχισμένην. Sch. compares for the figure 18. 299: 21. 138. Dem. speaks strongly on this point in 5. 10 ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ' ἴσως καλῶς προεῖσθε Φωκέας.

εἰς Πύλας] 'your former outmarch to P. has become fruitless,' when Philip after defeating Onomarchus in Thessaly marched to Pylae and was stopped by the prompt action of the Athenians, B. C. 353. Dem. alludes to this expedition infr. 319: 4. 17: 18. 32 καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριηρέσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν πορθμόν. ἢ εἰς πύλας Bekk. st. But the best mss. S, L, F, Υ, omit the article, which is not absolutely necessary. Thuc. 7. 18 τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν; Thuc. 8. 8 τὸν στόλον ἐς τὴν Χίον.

μετά] 'at a cost of.' Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 82 μετὰ πόνων πολλῶν συνειλεγμένην εὔκλειαν: 3. 36 (note).

αἱ κατά] 'your hopes respecting,' 'about the Thebans.' Cf. § 56, and κατὰ τῆς πόλεως in the next sentence.

ἔχει] supr. § 83: 'really involves the greatest insult to the state.'

ὅ...ὅτι] supr. § 3: 'it is this, that.'

οὐχὶ βουλομένους] 'that it was against your wish,' i.e. that he should do so, which they showed by the satisfaction with which they heard Aeschines assure them of the hostile intentions of Philip towards Thebes. Compare the argument in 6. 7 sq.; 18. 35. ἐγνωκότος ἐξ ἀρχῆς is inconsistent with what he says in § 138.

τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρός] This may either mean 'the enmity with which the Th. regard you,' or 'with which you regard the Th.;' supr. 12. That the meaning here is 'has increased the hostility of Thebes to you and her gratitude to Philip,' is clear from 18. 36, where, in speaking of this matter, after τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν (on your part) πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους we have τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θ. ... τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι,

χάριν πεποίηκεν. πῶς ἂν οὖν ὑβριστικώτερον ἄνθρωπος ὑμῖν ἐχρήσατο;

86 Λέγε δὴ τὸ ψήφισμα λαβὼν τὸ τοῦ Διοφάντου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι, ὅτε μὲν τὰ δέοντ' ἐποιεῖτε, θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπαίνων ἠξιοῦσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων παρεκρούσθητε, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεκομίζεσθε καὶ τὰ Ηράκλεια ἐντὸς τείχους θύειν ἐψηφίζεσθε εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω, εἰ τὸν μηδὲ τοὺς θεούς, καθ' ὃ πάτριον ἦν,

τὴν δὲ χάριν τῶν πεπραγμένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ.

πῶς ἂν...ἄνθρωπος] For ἄνθρωπος we ought not to think of ἄνθρωπος with Sch. Cf. § 69 and infr. 165: 20. 43 πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωπος μᾶλλον φανερὸς γένοιτο εὔνους ὤν: 43. 78 πῶς ἂν γένοιντο τούτων ἄνθρωποι παρανομώτεροι ἢ βιαιότεροι: 48. 45, and 50 πῶς ἂν οὐ μᾶλλον καταφανὴς γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι..., in which and similar passages we might substitute τις for ἄνθρωπος, as 23. 36 πῶς οὖν ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθείη: 43. 76 πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον ἐξερημώσαιεν ἄνθρωποι οἶκον, ἢ εἴ τινες...ἐξελαύνοιεν. Tr. 'how then could a man have treated you with greater contumely?'

§ 86. This is probably the *Diophantus* mentioned in 20. 137 on a level with Eubulus, and infr. 297, in conjunction with Aristophon and Callistratus. Whether § 198 refers to him is uncertain. Most likely he is meant in 35. 6 Διοφάντου...ἐκείνου τοῦ Σφεττίου and Isae. 3. 22. D. proposed the sacrifices and thanksgivings with which the Athenians testified their joy at having baffled Philip at Pylae. *Callistratus*' decree is mentioned in 18. 36, where the orator goes over the same ground as here.

For **ἐπαίνων** Cobet *Nov. Lect.* p. 128 conj. παιάνων. But see 18. 216 ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, which is the meaning of our passage. Comp. 18. 80.

κατεκομίζεσθε] Some inferior MSS. have the active, as in § 125 and Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 16. Κατά marks the position of the city towards the more inland ἀγροί. Isocr. 7. 52 πολλοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν. Theophr. *Char.* 14 (Jebb). Which of the many festivals of Hercules (Diodorus *Com. ap.* Athen. 6. 239 b τὸν Ἡρακλέα τιμῶσα λαμπρῶς ἡ πόλις ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δήμοις θυσίας ποιουμένη) is meant here, it is impossible to say. Harpocr. s. v. says Dem. probably refers to ἤτοι τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἢ τῶν ἐν Κυνοσάργει· ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα διὰ τίμης εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι.

ἐντὸς τείχους] 'within the city.' For the absence of the article cf. Madv. 8. r. d. Isocr. 7. 52 τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους. Pl. *Phaedr.* inst. πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τείχους. The decree is supposed to have been passed at the assembly of the 27th of Skirophorion mentioned in § 60; but see n. to § 125. Aeschines charges it all upon Demosthenes as the result partly of his cowardice, partly of his jealousy, which is inconsistent with what he says in 3. 80.

εἰ...ἀφήσετε] must be taken as explanatory of ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω, 'which really (καί) makes me wonder whether.' Sch. quotes Arist. *Eccl.* 338 ὃ καὶ δέδοικα, μή τι δρᾷ νεώτερον and Eur. *Phoen.* 270. A more exact parallel is furnished by Ps. D. 25. 31 ὃ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ and Lys. 26. 1 ὃ δὴ ἔγωγε ἀγανακτῶ, εἰ...Madv. 197. r.

τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσαντα τοῦτον ἀτιμώρητον ἀφήσετε. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἄξια, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐψηφίσασθε. λέγε δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

87 Ταῦτα τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθ' ὑμεῖς διὰ τούτους, οὐκ ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὔτε κατ' ἀρχὰς ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐγγράψαι πεισθέντες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, ἀλλ' ὡς θαυμάσι' ἡλίκα πεισόμενοι διὰ τούτους ἀγαθά. καὶ μὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁσάκις πρὸς Πορθμῷ ἢ πρὸς Μεγάροις ἀκούοντες δύναμιν Φιλίππου καὶ ξένους ἐθορυβεῖσθε, πάντες ἐπίστασθε, οὐ τοίνυν εἰ μήπω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβαίνει, δεῖ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ τούτους ἐξουσία γέγονεν αὐτῷ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούληται ποιῆσαι, τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινὸν βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον 369

τὸν...τοῦτον] 6. 22 ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον...παραιρήσεσθαι: 9, 18; 44. 15 πῶς οὐ προσήκει τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γένει ὄντας, τούτους...κομίσασθαι. Vöm. with singularly bad judgment omits, with S, the clause εἰ...ἀφήσετε: and his remark that if the clause is retained the present θαυμάζω must be altered into θαυμάσομαι or θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν is equally unfortunate. There is surely no more objection to it than to e. g. 9. 10 εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν... πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι.

§ 87. ἐπί...] 'Such was the resolution you passed then (on the motion of Kallistratus) through these men, though it was not with these prospects.' Cf. 6. 28 sq.

θαυμάσι' ἡλίκα] lit. 'marvellous, so great were they.' Madv. 106. cf. supr. § 24; 24. 122: Pl. *Euthyd.* 275 C σοφίαν ἀμήχανον ὅσην: Herod. 4. 194 ἄφθονοι ὅσοι: *Gorg.* 477 D ὑπερφυεῖ τινὶ ἄρα ὡς μεγάλῃ βλάβῃ καὶ κακῷ θαυμασίῳ ὑπερβάλλουσα: *Cratyl.* 395 D θαυμαστὴ ὡς σύμφωνοι: Arist. *Vesp.* 1279 ἀργάλεον ὡς σοφόν. 'But under the idea that you would through these men become the recipients of extraordinary advantages.'

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα] i.e. 'non tantum recente tumultu ('panic') sed etiam temporibus insecutis.' Sch. Philip's designs upon Porthmus and Megara are spoken of in 9. 17, 27, 33: 18. 86: infr. 326. Grote, 11. 612. For the omission of the subst. verb cf. *note* to 4. 18.

ἐθορυβεῖσθε] 'you were alarmed.' 18. 35 ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν: 8. 11 ἐπειδὰν πυθώμεθά τι γεγονόμενον, τηνικαῦτα θορυβούμεθα (we are in a state of bewilderment) καὶ παρασκευάζομεν; Ps. D. 10. 21.

ἐξουσία...ποιῆσαι] The infinitive without the article as in 6. 33 ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία: 8. 8; 1. 15 εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν: 8. 52 ἡσυχίαν ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὅ, τι βούλεται: 8. 64 ἄδεια λέγειν: infr. 164 ἀσφάλεια ἰέναι. Cf. 149, *note*.

καὶ τὸν αἴτιον] 'but see whether through those men he has got the power of doing this when he pleases, and keep this peril in view and hate and punish the man who is to blame for it and has furnished him

καὶ παρασκευάσαντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι.

88 Οἶδα τοίνυν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηγορημένων αὐτοῦ λόγους Αἰσχίνης φεύξεται, βουλόμενος δ' ὑμᾶς ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάγειν διέξεισιν ἡλίκα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γίγνεται καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κακά, καὶ ὅλως ἐγκώμια εἰρήνης ἐρεῖ, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἀπολογήσεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα κατηγορήματα τούτου. εἰ γὰρ ἡ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθῶν αἰτία τοσούτων πραγμάτων καὶ ταραχῆς ἡμῖν αἰτία γέγονε, τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φῇ πλὴν ὅτι δῶρα λαβόντες οὗτοι καλὸν πρᾶγμα
89 φύσει κακῶς διέθηκαν; τί δ'; οὐ τριήρεις τριακόσιαι καὶ

with such power.' Cf. 6. 55. Some MSS. insert the article before παρασκευάσαντα, which Sh. thinks could not stand. But cf. 160 and 280 Θρασυβούλου τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς; 23. 132 τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς καὶ τοῦ βαρβάρου (Chersobleptes); Antiph. 1. 21 τῷ τεθνεῶτι ὑμᾶς κελεύω καὶ τῷ ἠδικημένῳ...τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι.

§§ 88—91. *He will dilate on the blessings of peace. But this will only serve to show more clearly how great his offence is. To Philip it has indeed given great advantages. We through the venality of these men have by it lost allies and treasure.*

αὐτοῦ] Bekk. st. and Sh.; αὐτῶν (-οῦ), S, 'antiq. superscripsit οῦ' Vöm., who therefore with Dind. has αὐτῶν. The sense will then be 'I know Ae. will avoid all direct answer to the charges I have brought.'

ἀπάγειν] Cf. § 242.

ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης] 'from peace' in general as is shown by πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, not 'the peace;' such abstract terms taking or rejecting the article. Madv. 8 and 2 c. 'And in short will pronounce a panegyric upon peace, and will take that line of defence;' cf. on § 94 τὰ ὁμολογούμενα ἀπολογούμενον. Dem. no doubt anticipated this line of defence as it must have been often in the mouths of the peace party. Compare 8. 52 (a speech delivered two years after this) ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς ἀναστάς τις λέγει 'τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθόν' καὶ 'τὸ τρέφειν δύναμιν μεγάλην ὡς χαλεπόν.' Cf. Isocr. 5. 7, ὅπως γὰρ οὖν (sc. ἐπράχθη, he is speaking of the peace of Philocrates) πεπράχθαι κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτὴν ἢ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γιγνομένοις. συνησθεὶς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ψηφισθεῖσι...That peace was preservative of democracy was a common topic. Andoc. 3. 12 τοσοῦτον οὖν ἔγωγε... διορίζομαι περὶ τούτων, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην σωτηρίαν εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ δύναμιν, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον δήμου κατάλυσιν γίγνεσθαι. Aesch. 2. 177; Thuc. 4. 59.

τί τις.. φῇ] Madv. 121. Cf. 18. 124 πότερόν σέ τις...φῇ; Soph. *Aj.* 403 ποῖ τις οὖν φύγῃ, and so very frequently, τις referring to or including the speaker. For exx. of the 3rd person where the speaker is not included cf. infr. *n.* to τί καὶ ποιήσῃ § 138. Tr. 'How can one explain this but that a thing naturally excellent has been spoiled by these men taking bribes.'

§ 89. **τί δ'.;**] 'Well! he perhaps may say, is it not the case that...are and will be preserved to us through the peace?' Ps. D. 25. 91 τί δ'; οὐ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, φησίν, ὀφείλει; 'Well! is not such and such a man a debtor?' We might have expected τε after

σκεύη ταύταις καὶ χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν περίεστι καὶ περιέσται διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἴσως ἂν εἴποι. πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν εὐπορώτερα πολλῷ καὶ κατασκευαῖς ὅπλων καὶ χώρας καὶ προσόδων, αἳ γεγόνασιν ἐκείνῳ μεγάλαι.
90 γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τινές. ἡ δέ γε τῶν πραγμάτων κατασκευὴ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, δι' ἣν ἢ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι τἀγαθὰ πάντες κέκτηνται, ἡ μὲν ἡμετέρα πραθεῖσα ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπόλωλε καὶ γέγονεν ἀσθενής, ἡ δ' ἐκείνου φοβερὰ
91 καὶ μείζων πολλῷ. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀμφότερ' ηὐξῆσθαι διὰ τούτους, καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἃ δ' ἡμῖν δικαίως ἂν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης,

περιέστι; but it is very often omitted where different forms of the same word are coupled. Sh. quotes 21. 191 παθὼν καὶ πάσχων: Sc. Th. 1005 δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντα and other passages. Cf. 6. 15 ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει; and 9. 42.

τριήρεις τριακόσιαι] This agrees with 14. 13, where he says they possessed χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, ὁπλίτας δ' ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας; ib. § 20. Lycurgus is said to have provided them with 400 triremes, completely filling their docks. According to the decree of the Byzantines in 18. 90, the Athenians sent 120 vessels to the relief of that city, and before the battle of Chaeronea decreed to send 200 triremes to sea, 18. 184. Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* Bk. 2. ch. 21.

καὶ before **κατασκευαῖς**] cannot, as Sh. points out, be 'both,' as this would require καὶ ὅπλων κ., and, we may add, throw the emphasis wrongly. The sense clearly is: 'In answer to this you must understand that the resources of P. also (as well as ours) have been largely increased in consequence of the peace, and that too (in the same direction as he dwells on, viz.) in supplies of arms...' For κατασκευαῖς cf. 9. 40.

δέ γε] 'And we too (it may be urged) have gained some. Yes, (so far it may be admitted that the balance is not uneven) but that establishment of power and allies, through which all hold their good things either for themselves or (if dependent) for their superiors, in our case sold by these men has been ruined and made weak.' Comp. the language in Ps. D. 10. 50, 68, 69.

πραγμάτων] 'intelligendum quidquid pertinet ad internas reipublicae vires, quae censentur ὅπλοις χώρᾳ et προσόδοις. Opponuntur οἱ σύμμαχοι.' Sch.

γ. ἀσθενής as the more specific term defines and qualifies ἀπόλωλε. So ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς 9. 39: ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι 9. 61: ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι 9. 20: μέλλοντας καὶ καθημένους 4. 9: ἀποδημοῦντος καὶ στρατευομένου 48. 24. In the same way we constantly find an ordinary attached to a metaphorical word in order at once to define and relieve it. 2. 10 ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσε: 18. 138 ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν: 9. 50 νοσοῦντας καὶ τεταραγμένους: 9. 12 νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι: 23. 8 ὑπέρχεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν: Dein. 1. 92 μετοιωνίσασθαι τὴν τύχην καὶ μεταλλάξασθαι. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3. 15 malacia ac tranquillitas.

§ 91. **τὰ τῶν σ.**] 'both his alliances and his resources.' Madv. 14 c. That τὰ τῶν σ. even to the Greek was = οἱ σύμμαχοι is clear

ταῦτ' ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδοντο αὐτοὶ λογίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων γέγονεν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν 37
ἦν ἂν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ τούτοις ἂν προσῆν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τούτους.

92 Ὅλως δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δίκαιον δήπου φήσαιτ' ἂν εἶναι μήτ' εἰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότ' ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει, μηδενὸς δ' Αἰσχίνης αἴτιος τούτων, εἰς τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὀργήν, μήτ' εἴ τι τῶν δεόντων πέπρακται δι' ἄλλον τινά, τοῦτο σῶσαι τουτονί· ἀλλ' ὅσων οὗτος αἴτιος σκεψάμενοι καὶ χάριν, ἂν ταύτης ἄξιος ᾖ, καὶ τοὐναντίον ὀργήν, ἂν
93 τοιαῦτα φαίνηται πεποιηκὼς ποιεῖσθε. πῶς οὖν εὑρήσετε ταῦτα δικαίως; ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα ἐᾶτε ταράττειν αὐτόν,

from such passages as Pl. *Legg.* 729 C τό γε φίλων καὶ ἑταίρων...εὐμενεῖς ἂν τις κτῷτο; *Phileb.* 45 E.

ἀνθ' ὧν] 'in lieu of;' 'as a set off against,' 'valued to us for;' infr. 150: 1. 1. 'While they reckon up the advantages you would naturally have got from the peace and set them off against what they sold themselves.'

οὐδὲ π. δεῖ] supr. § 30.

εἰ μὴ διά] Cf. § 74. ταῦτ' i.e. what they sold: 'but we have not got the one in exchange for the other—very far from it—but the one we should have had all the same, and the other in addition, but for these men.'

§§ 92—102. *That he may not be blamed for calamitous results which he did not bring about or get the credit which belongs to others, keep him strictly to the point. No one calls him to an account for the conduct of the war, or charges him with having induced the city to conclude peace. My charge is that he supported the venal Philocrates and as envoy brought about the ruin of your allies. Force him to a defence of his conduct on these points which alone concern him.*

ὅλως δ'] 'and speaking generally, you will, I suppose, allow it to be just that on the one hand though many grievous misfortunes have befallen us, yet if Ae. is not to blame for any of them your anger should not fall on him; so on the other, if any advantage has been gained through any one else, this ought not to save him.'

τι τῶν δ.] infr. § 132.

χάριν...ὀργήν...ποιεῖσθε] as θαῦμα, λήθην, σπουδήν, &c. ποιεῖσθαι for θαυμάζω, &c. a resolution of which most Greek verbs are capable. Cobet, *Nov. L.* p. 257: L. and S. s. v. ποιέω. An adverb attached to the unresolved verb then naturally becomes a predicative adjective. Thuc. 1. 23 ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν εἶχε: 1. 6 ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐποιήσαντο. 'Bestow on him favour, if he deserves it; visit him with your anger if he is found to have done what calls for it.'

τοιαῦτα] sc. ὀργῆς ἄξια, the word being often used in this way as a substitute for something that has preceded Pl. *Symp.* 209 D ἃ ἐκείνοις ἀθάνατον κλέος καὶ μνημὴν παρέχεται αὐτὰ τοιαῦτα (i. e. ἀθάνατα) ὄντα.' Soph. *Aj.* 164; 218. Bekk. st. and Vöm. omit πεποιηκώς with S. But to make τοιαῦτα a nominative, going back to ὅσων οὗτος αἴτιος ('if they are found to be such as call for it') after ἄξιος had interposed another subject, would be very harsh. No doubt the copyist took offence at the *cacophonous* juxtaposition, which is similar to those adduced on § 75 ἕξει δεῖξαι.

τὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀδικήματα, τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιπ-
πον, τἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ σκοπῆτε. οἷον ἦν ἡμῖν πόλεμος πρὸς Φίλιππον· ἦν. ἐν-
ταῦθ' ἐγκαλεῖ τις Αἰσχίνῃ; βούλεταί τις τούτου κατηγορεῖν
94 περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πραχθέντων; οὐδὲ εἷς. οὐκοῦν περὶ τούτων γε ἀφεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν δεῖ λέγειν· περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τεκμήρια δεῖ λέγειν τὸν φεύγοντα, οὐ τὰ ὁμολογούμενα ἀπολογούμενον ἐξαπατᾶν. ὅπως τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
95 μηδὲν ἐρεῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται περὶ αὐτοῦ σε. μετὰ ταῦτα εἰρήνην τινὲς ἡμᾶς ἔπειθον ποιήσασθαι· ἐπείσθημεν· πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν· ἤγαγον οὗτοι δεῦρο τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν εἰρήνην. πάλιν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τούτου μέμφεταί τις Αἰσχίνην; φησί τις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῦτον εἰρήνην, ἢ ἀδικεῖν ὅτι δεῦρ' ἤγαγε τοὺς ποιησομένους; οὐδ' εἷς. οὔκουν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ 371

§ 93. **τῶν στρατηγῶν**] infr. 99. 332: 18. 146. This is an example of what by Cornificius (4. § 40) is called *expeditio* ('quum rationibus compluribus enumeratis quibus aliqua res fieri potuerit, ceterae tolluntur. una relinquitur, quam nos intendimus'), by Cicero (*de invent.* 1. 29. 45) *enumeratio*. It belongs to the *τόπος ἐκ διαιρέσεως* of Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 23. 10. There is another ex. infr. 221. Cf. Volkmann's *Hermagoras*, p. 106.

τἀπὸ...ἀγαθά] 'the blessings of peace,' 'that flow from it:' *ἀπό* as expressive of motion from the surface of an object, denoting rather derivation than direct causation. Pl. *Gorg.* 453 B *τὴν ἀπὸ ῥητορικῆς πειθώ*: Antiph. i. *β.* § 9 *τόνδε τὸν κίνδυνον...τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς*: Thuc. 2. 39 *τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὔψυχον*: Thuc. 1. 17 *ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον*, 'on their part:' Dem. 18. 298 *ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας...τῆς ψυχῆς πάντα ταῦτα πεπολίτευμαι.*

οἷον] strictly an accusative in apposition to the sentence: 'For example; we were at war with P. We were so.' As the sentence exemplifies what he meant by *ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν*, Dind. and Vöm. are wrong, I think, in making it interrogative.

§ 94. **περὶ γάρ**] 'for it is the business of a defendant to produce his witnesses and his proofs upon controverted points, not to try to mislead the court by defending himself on points no one questions,' and so seek to draw attention from the real point of the case and get a verdict upon a wrong issue. *τὰ ὁμ. ἀπολογεῖσθαι* might also mean 'urge in his defence matters admitted to be true,' as supr. 88: infr. 213 *ἔχων ὅτι ἀπολογήσεται.* The drift of the passage requires the other sense. Sh. refers to 43. 9: Thuc. 8. 109 *τὰς διαβολὰς...ἀπολογήσηται* (*ἀπολύσεται* Cob. *Var. L.* p. 368): add Antiph. *De Caed. Herod.* 85 *ὅσα μὲν...ἐκ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων μέμνημαι...ἀπολελόγημαι.*

ὅπως ..μηδέν...] 'See then you don't say anything about the war.' Madv. 123. r. 4; supr. 46.

§ 95. **ἔπειθον**] 'advised us:' *ἐπείσθημεν* an effective aorist 'we followed their advice:' cf. *n.* to 3. 7.

εἰσηγήσασθαι] 'mooted,' 'started the question of.' Ps. D. 13. 2 *τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰσηγησαίμην*, 'would not advise:' 18. 148: Thuc. 3. 20 *εἰσηγησαμένου τῶν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς.*

οὔκουν...] 'no more then ought

96 λεκτέον· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος αἴτιος. τί οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, λέγεις, εἴ τις ἔροιτό με, καὶ πόθεν ἄρχῃ κατηγορεῖν; ὅθεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βουλευομένων ὑμῶν οὐ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ποιητέον εἰρήνην ἢ μή (ἐδέδοκτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, τοῖς τὰ δίκαια λέγουσιν ἀντειπὼν τῷ μισθοῦ γράφοντι
97 συνεῖπε δῶρα λαβών, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αἱρεθεὶς ὧν μὲν ὑμεῖς προσετάξατε οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐποίησε, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου διασωθέντας ἀπώλεσε τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐψεύσατο ἡλίκα οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τοῦ λόγου τυχεῖν Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Κτησιφῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδημος τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην ἔφερον τοῦ φενακισμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἤδη τὰ πράγμαθ'

he to say anything about the fact of our having made peace.'

§ 96. Cobet (Hyper. *Fun. Or.* p. 33) would omit *εἴ τις ἔροιτό με*: but see *n.* to 1. 14: 4. 44. 'And from what point do you begin to accuse him? From this (infr. 333), that when you were deliberating not on the question whether you should conclude peace or not, for *that* had already been determined upon, but what sort of a peace it should be, he opposed your honest advisers and supported the man who moved a resolution for which he was paid, himself having taken a bribe.' Sh. follows L, F, Υ, &c. in reading *τοῖς γάρ* as after a parenthesis, quoting in illustration 45. 82 (which however is not in point, *γάρ* there merely marking the beginning of the narrative): 44. 20 and other examples. The use is undoubted, but here surely there is no parenthesis breaking the flow of the sentence. I therefore follow Bekk. st. and Dind.

περί and **ὑπέρ** are used here, as often, without any appreciable difference of meaning; the change being made for the sake of rhetorical variety. Other exx. may be seen in 6. 35: 18. 9: infr. 214: 23. 1. Cf. *n.* to 1. 5. There are similar changes in 3. 1. *εἰς...πρός*: 6. 16. *ἀπό...ἐκ*: 6. 35. *ἐπί...εἰς*.

μισθοῦ] cf. § 80 *ἀργυρίου*.

ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους] 'to receive the oaths:' supr. 17 and 57.

§ 97. **διασωθέντας**] 'destroyed those of your allies who during the war had remained safe;' 'had seen it to the end in safety:' supr. § 78. Comp. with this 3.28 *οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀπολωλήκασιν οὗτοι* and infr. 149.

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔφερον] Cobet (*Nov. L.* p. 569), erroneously thinking that S omits *τὴν ἀρχήν*, proposes *τὰ πρῶτα ἐφέροντο*, a conjecture he would certainly have withheld if he had duly weighed the context, with which it is utterly inconsistent. The ordinary reading is undoubtedly right, though there has been some doubt as to the sense. The words have been understood to mean, 'brought the first beginning of the imposture,' i.e. began it by their reports, § 18. But the first words of the sentence (*ἄχρι τοῦ*) and those which follow, especially *παρέδωκαν* and *ἐκδεξάμενοι*, show that Sch. is right in saying 'significatur...curatio suscepti negotii, quod deinde aliis tradas porro curandum.' 'For at first indeed, till Philip got leave to speak about peace, K. and A. (bore on their shoulders) undertook the task of starting the imposture, but as soon as the matter was ripe for execution they handed it over to Ph. and the defendant,'

93 ἧκεν, Φιλοκράτει καὶ τούτῳ παρέδωκαν, ἐκδεξάμενοι δ' οὗτοι πάντ' ἀπώλεσαν. εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ δεῖ λόγον καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων, ὧν οἶμαι πανοῦργος οὗτος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ γραμματεὺς ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης κρινόμενος ἀπολογήσεται, οὐχ ἵνα πλειόνων ἢ κατηγορεῖ τις αὐτοῦ δῷ λόγον· μανία γὰρ τοῦτό γε· ἀλλ' ὁρᾷ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα δὲ τἀδικήματα, ἡ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολογία, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
99 ἄλλο, τοὔνομα γοῦν ἔχει φιλάνθρωπον. ἣν δέδοικα μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δέδοικα μὴ λελήθαμεν ὥσπερ οἱ δανει- 372
ζόμενοι ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἄγοντες· τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῆς καὶ

§ 98. For **ἐκδεξάμενοι** Bekk. st. Vöm. and Dind. with S read *δεξάμενοι*, which Vöm. thinks suits *παρέδωκαν* better. I cannot agree. Cf. 18. 21 *ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης*, and supr. 37; infr. 321.

λόγον...] 'render an account and submit to a trial for his acts.'

καὶ γραμματεύς] 'the defendant, I take it, like a rascal and villain and—clerk as he is.' We may suppose the Orator to pause for a moment and then drop *γραμματεύς* as a kind of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, as Sh. observes. Dem. often alludes *δι' ἀχθηδόνα* to Aeschines' former occupation. In 18. 261 (cf. infr. 249) it is said *τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις*. As such underclerkships were filled by slaves and citizens of the lowest rank, no doubt some amount of opprobium, so far, attaches to the word. But the clerkships of the council and assembly being public appointments (infr. 249 *ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραμματεῖς χειροτονηθέντες* and 314) were quite respectable and *per se* connoted nothing opprobious. In § 314 I see nothing more than that Aeschines, now he was become a man of note, was offended, as such men are apt to be, when reminded that he was once lower in the social scale; and his rival lets slip no opportunity of wounding his vanity.

τῆς εἰρήνης] Bekk. st. and Vöm. with S omit the article. But here the peace they had concluded is meant, not peace in general; cf. infr. *ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολογία*.

μ. γὰρ τοῦτό γε] 18. 2 and 16 *ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε*: supr. 95, and so very frequently.

ἡ δ'] 'while a defence of the peace, even if it has nothing else, has in its name at least a sound of humanity,' as opposed to the horrors of war, supr. 88: Herod. 1. 87. Cf. 24. 156 *τὴν...τοῦ ὀνόματος φιλανθρωπίαν...κατείδε*: ib. 191 *μὴ δὴ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ῥημάτων ἐκλέξας λεγέτω ἃ φιλανθρωπότατ' ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι*.

εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο] 'si nihil aliud;' 8. 62 *εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν*: Aesch. 3. 154.

§ 99. **δέδοικα...δέδοικα**] *n.* to 1. 19. Such repetitions of the same or synonymous words after an *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* or the like are common: 1. 14: 4. 3: supr. 4: 18. 242: 20. 83.

ἐπὶ πολλῷ] must be taken with *οἱ δ.* and *ἄγοντες*, as in 1. 15, from which passage the expression is borrowed. Cf. 8. 53 *ἃ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μήποθ' ἡγήσεσθε ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι*. 'I fear indeed we have been unconsciously enjoying it like people who borrow money at a high rate;' the perfect indic. expressing a fear that the thing has already happened.

τὸ βέβαιον οὗτοι προύδοσαν, Φωκέας καὶ Πύλας· οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτόν γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποιησάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἄτοπον μέν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δὲ πάνυ. εἰ γάρ τις ὡς ἀληθῶς χαίρει τῇ εἰρήνῃ, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ὧν κατηγοροῦσιν ἅπαντες, χάριν αὐτῆς ἐχέτω. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐβούλεσθε
100 ἐπολέμουν, οὐδ' ὄνομα εἰρήνης ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠνέσχεσθε. εἰρήνη μὲν οὖν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπικίνδυνος δὲ καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἄπιστος διὰ τούτους γέγονε δωροδοκήσαντας. εἴργετ' οὖν, εἴργετε αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμβιβάζετε. οὐ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης κρίνεται, οὔ, ἀλλ' ἡ εἰρήνη δι' Αἰσχίνην διαβέβλη-
101 ται. σημεῖον δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη ἐγεγόνει, μηδὲν δ' ὕστερον ἐξηπάτησθε ὑμεῖς μηδ' ἀπολώλει τῶν συμμάχων μηδείς, τίν' ἀνθρώπων ἐλύπησεν ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη, ἔξω τοῦ ἄδοξος γεγενῆσθαι; καίτοι καὶ τούτου συναίτιος οὗτος συνειπὼν Φιλοκράτει. ἀλλ' ἀνήκεστόν γ' οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν γεγονός. νῦν δ', οἶμαι, πολλῶν αἴτιος οὗτος.

102 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπὸ

Thuc. 3. 53 νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα, μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν: Pl. *Lys.* 218 D φοβοῦμαι ... μὴ ... ἐντετυχήκαμεν. Madv. 124 A.

τὸ ἀσφαλές] supr. 84: 'what formed its safeguard and security.' For the repeated article cf. notes to 1. 25 and 2. 9.

ἄτοπον μέν...δέ] 9. 5 καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἔστιν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ: 18. 199: 24. 122: Pl. *Apol.* 32 A ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν φορτικὰ μὲν καὶ δικανικά, ἀληθῆ δέ. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 49 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δέ. 'However it was certainly not through Aeschines that we originally made it: but strange as what I am about to say may appear, it is perfectly true.'

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς...] supr. 93; cf. Aesch. 2. 73.

§ 100. **εἰρήνη μὲν**] 'Peace then is owing to them: but it has become dangerous, unstable and insecure through these men having taken bribes.'

ἐμβιβάζετε] συμβιβάζετε STΦL, Bekk. st.: συμεμβιβάζετε F., whence Dind. and Sh. read ἐμβιβάζετε, rightly no doubt, as συμβιβάζετε (see L. and S.) cannot bear the sense required here 'force him to speak about,' 'to a defence for. .'

ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης] 'bar him then, bar him from arguments in favour of the peace (§ 95 ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολογία), and force him to a defence for what he has done.'

οὐ...οὔ] 'is not tried for the peace, no!': infr. 186: 21. 112: Soph. *Aj.* 970: Ps. D. 10. 62.

διαβέβληται] 'has become discredited:' Ps. D. 10. 6 οὕτω διαβεβλήμεθα καὶ καταπεφρονήμεθα ἐκ τούτων.

§ 101. **σημεῖον δέ**] supr. 58.

ἔξω...] 'independently of its having become discreditable.' The Zurich editors with one MS. read ἄδοξον, which, notwithstanding Lobeck's note on Phrynichus p. 750, is questionable Greek. Madv. 158.

§§ 102—105. *If Aeschines has brought about all this mischief by thoughtlessness, good nature or ignorance, though such excuses are not*

τούτων ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθαρται, οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι· ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχω τοῦ συκοφαντίαν τινὰ τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις προσάγειν ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν ὥστ', εἰ ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἀβελτερίας ἢ δι' εὐήθειαν ἢ δι' ἄλλην ἄγνοιαν ἡντινοῦν οὕτω πέπρακται, αὐτός τ' ἀφίημι Αἰσχίνην καὶ
103 ὑμῖν συμβουλεύω. καίτοι τῶν σκήψεων τούτων οὐδεμία 373
ἐστὶ πολιτικὴ οὐδὲ δικαία. οὐδένα γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ὑμεῖς κελεύετε οὐδ' ἀναγκάζετε· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις ἑαυτὸν πείσας δύνασθαι προσέλθῃ, πρᾶγμα ποιοῦντες ἀνθρώπων χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων εὐνοϊκῶς δέχεσθε καὶ οὐ φθονερῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονεῖτε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐγχει-
104 ρίζετε. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν κατορθοῖ τις, τιμήσεται καὶ πλέον ἕξει τῶν πολλῶν κατὰ τοῦτο, ἂν δ' ἀποτυγχάνῃ, σκήψεις καὶ

constitutional or just, and are no sufficient answer to our allies on whom ruin has fallen, acquit him; but if, as the facts show, he was bribed to do it, visit him with condign punishment.

ἀπόλωλε καὶ δ.] supr. 30: 'that these men have wrought all this ruin and mischief.'

ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν] sc. *προσάγειν*. So infr. *ὑμῖν συμβουλεύω* sc. *ἀφιέναι*: 18. 125 *ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ*, 'while you pretend to be mine;' Lys. 13. 28; Ps. D. 10. 39 *note*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 44; *Mem.* 1. 2. 54 *ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρέχει*. Cf. Frohberger on Lys. 13. 28.

δι' ἄλλην.] This may be either understood with Sch. as = 'besides,' or we may take *ἄγνοιαν* as a form of *εὐήθεια*. Sh. adopts the latter view, as otherwise, he thinks, *ἡντινοῦν* would be without force. I think Sch. is right. Cf. 23. 97 *πῶς γὰρ ὁ μήτε δι' ἔχθραν μήτε δι' εὔνοιαν μήτε δι' ἄλλην ἄδικον πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν ... θέμενος τὴν ψῆφον εὐσεβεῖ*. Tr. 'But so far am I from bringing any spirit of captiousness to these questions or wishing you to do so, that if these results have been brought about by thoughtlessness or through simple good nature or any kind of ignorance whatever, I acquit Ae. myself, and advise you to do so.'

§ 103. **πολιτική**] 'constitutional,' 'agreeable to our political system,' as explained by what follows. So in 18. 13, to deprive another of the right of '*προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν*,' is '*οὔτε ... ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιον*,' i.e. something which if allowed would introduce, as it is said in § 2, *δεινότατον πάντων ἔθος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν*: cf. 24. 162; 22. 51.

τὰ κοινὰ πρ.] 'to conduct public business,' 'devote himself to the service of the state; but when any one has persuaded himself that he has the ability and does so, you acting the part of kind and benevolent people receive him with favour and without envy: you...' With *προσέλθῃ* we must supply *πρὸς τὰ κοινά* from above: cf. § 2. *ἀλλά*, which marks the opposition to *οὐ φθονερῶς*, may be omitted in English.

§ 104. **τιμήσεται**] 'he will be honoured and have an advantage over the general body in this respect.' To the exx. of the middle form of the future used passively given in Jebb's *n.* to *Aj.* 1155, add Hom. *Odyss.* α. 123 *φιλήσεαι*: Arist. *Ran.* 797, *μουσικὴ σταθμήσεται*: Xen. *Oecon.* 18. 5 *ὁμαλεῖται*: Eur. *Phoen.* 1625 *κηρύξεται*: Her. 6. 17 *ἀνδραποδιεῖται*: Xen. *Cyrop.* 6. 1. 10 *ἐπιβουλευσομένων*: *Hell.* 6. 4. 6 *πολιορκήσοιντο*: ib. 7. 2. 18 *ἐνεδρεύσοιντο*: Pl. *Meno*, 77 E *βλαβήσον-*

προφάσεις ἐρεῖ; ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξαρκέσειε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι συμμάχοις οὐδὲ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τούτου λέγω, τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι· πολλοῦ γε καὶ
105 δεῖ. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς ἄφετ' Αἰσχίνῃ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντα, ἂν δι' εὐήθειαν ἢ δι' ἄλλην ἄγνοιαν ἡντινοῦν λελυμασμένος φανῇ. ἂν μέντοι διὰ πονηρίαν ἀργύριον λαβὼν καὶ δῶρα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξελεγχθῇ σαφῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πεπραγμένων, μάλιστα μέν, εἰ οἷόν τε, ἀποκτείνατε, εἰ δὲ μή, ζῶντα τοῖς λοιποῖς παράδειγμα ποιήσατε. σκοπεῖτε δὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔλεγχον, ὡς δίκαιος ἔσται, μεθ' ὑμῶν.

106 Ἀνάγκη δή που τοὺς λόγους τούτους Αἰσχίνην πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν τουτονί, τοὺς περὶ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν Θεσπιέων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας, εἴπερ μὴ πεπρακὼς αὐτὸν ἑκὼν ἐξηπάτα, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ διαρρήδην ἀκούσαντα ὑποσχο-

ται ἀπ' αὐτῶν: Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 1. 9 εὑρήσεται: Dem. 21. 7 ἀγωνιεῖται, &c. Cf. Monk on *Hippolyt.* 1458.

ἐρεῖ] 'is he to set up pleas and excuses?' 22. 19 οἴεσθε δεῖν προφάσεις καὶ λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἀδικούντων; Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 33 τί γὰρ ἔδει ἢ προφασέων ἢ λόγων ἢ σκήψεως.

οὐ γάρ...] 'for it will not satisfy our ruined allies...that they have suffered such things through my incapacity not to say the defendant's;' such a plea they will not and cannot accept as a satisfactory excuse.

πολλοῦ...] a strengthened form of πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, in which *καί* belongs to πολλοῦ, 'very far from it;' infr. 138, 158, 190, 307.

§ 105. **ἄφετ' Αἰσχίνῃ**] 'forgive Aeschines these dreadful and monstrous things.' For the dat. cf. 53. 2 τῇ πόλει ἀφίημι 'I renounce in favour of the state.' Hom. *Il.* 1. 283 λίσσομ' Ἀχιλλῆι μεθέμεν χόλον 'forgive A. thy grudge;' *Odyss.* φ. 377 καὶ δὴ μέθιεν χαλεποῖο χόλοιο Τηλεμάχῳ: *Il.* 1. 127 τήνδε θεῷ πρόες: Eur. *Iph. A.* 1609 καὶ πόσει πάρες χόλον: Dem. 21. 186 τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ...ἄξιον ἦν ἂν τι τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνεῖναι.

λελυμασμένος] i.e. τὰ δεινά... as a quantitative accusative; Madv. 27: 'if it appears that he has wrought the mischief.'

ἂν μέντοι] 'if however he has done it through want of principle, having received money and presents (§ 11), and this be clearly brought home to him by the facts themselves, first and above all put him to death.'

παράδειγμα] *n.* to § 232.

μεθ' ὑμῶν] Phrases like μετ' ἀληθείας σκοποῦτο 2. 4: μετ' εὐνοίας θεωρησάτω 18. 199 are common: but I have not observed any other instance like the present, which may be compared with the Latin 'reputate cum animis vestris.'

δίκαιος] 'fair.'

§§ 106...110. *Admitting for the moment that he did not purposely deceive you, he must either have heard P. distinctly promise to save Phocis and humble Thebes or have been led to infer from the king's general liberality that all he told you on his return would be done. In either case he ought to hate Philip. But does he ever come forward to accuse him, or warn you against the arts that deceived himself?*

δυοῖν θάτερον] Madv. 19. 1. 3: 'for one of two reasons.' διαρρήδην must be taken with ὑποσχομένου, ('he

μένου Φιλίππου ὅτι πράξει ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσει, ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, γοητευθέντα καὶ φενακισθέντα τῇ περὶ τἄλλα φιλαν- 374
107 *θρωπίᾳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλπίσαντα παρ' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἔνεστι τούτων οὐδὲ ἓν χωρίς. ἐκ τοίνυν τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων μισεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκει Φίλιππον. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου μέρος πάντ' αὐτῷ γέγονε τὰ δεινότατα καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα. ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτηκεν, ἀδοξεῖ, δικαίως ἀπόλωλε, κρίνεται, καὶ εἴ γέ τι τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγίγνετο, ἐν εἰσαγ-*

had heard P. distinctly promise'), the separation being purely rhetorical. Cf. 9. 27; 14. 29 *ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ, μηδ' εἰ πάνυ μαίνοιτο, νομίσαι ῥᾴδιον*: 28. 9 *ἃ φανερῶς ὅτι διηρπάκετε ἐξελεγχόμενοι*. 20. 152 *καὶ μάλ' ἔχων νόμος ὑμῖν καλῶς*; Isae. 7. 19 *οὐσίας καὶ πεντεταλάντου καταλειφθείσης ῥᾳδίως*; Andoc. 1. 5 *οἱ ἴσως πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐτυχεῖν*. In *πράξει καὶ ποιήσει* Sch. sees a case of 'pleonasmus oratorius.' Cf. *n.* to 4. 5 and tr. 'would effect and perform.'

γοητευθέντα...] Xen. *An.* 5. 7. 9 *ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ γοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἥκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν*.

τῇ περὶ τἄλλα φ.] 'by his general liberality,' 'courtesy;' infr. 139. That Philip made a great impression on the envoys by his princely courtesy is clear from Aesch. 2. 13 and 42.

§ 107. *τούτων* of course depends on *χωρίς*, 'no other supposition is possible.' For *τὸ—μέρος* 'so far as it depended on Philip,' cf. § 82.

δικαίως] libri, Sh.; *δίκαιος* Bekk. st. Dind. from a conj. of H. Wolf. *ἀπόλωλε* S, omitting *καί* after *κρίνεται* which is retained by FΥ. Sh. has in the text *δικαίως ἀπολωλέναι κρίνεται* and tr. 'he is adjudged to have justly become ruined, a lost man, i. e. damaged and ruined in character,' but conjectures *δικαίως ἀπόλωλε· ναί, κρίνεται, καί*.... The first reading is objectionable because *καί*...*γε* which marks an ascent 'ad majus' requires that the preceding should be a lower grade of something of which *ἐν εἰσαγγελίᾳ* is a higher, i. e. that *κρίνεται* should be 'is on his trial.' To the second, which Sh. explains 'nay, you will say he is undergoing a trial upon this point; that point is not yet decided, it is being tried,' it might be objected that no instance can be produced out of the orators where *ναί* is thus used in the middle of a sentence, or to show that *by itself* it does or can introduce an objection. The following is a tolerably complete list of the passages in the orators in which *ναί* is used. Aesch. 3. 22 *ναί, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος*: ib. 28 *ναί, ἀλλὰ ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθέως λέγων*: ib. 84 *ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς τείχεσιν, ὡς αὐτός φησι, τὴν χώραν...ἐτείχισε*...: ib. 167 *ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστιν*...: Dem. 18. 251 *ναί, φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν*. In all these passages it is clearly our 'yes, but...,' 'true, but,' *ἀλλά* marking the exception taken. Andoc. 3. 26 *νῦν δὲ βουλευόμεθα...πῶς δυνατοὶ...πολεμεῖν ἐσμὲν...ἄνευ Βοιωτῶν. Ναί, φασί τινες, ἂν Κόρινθον φυλάττωμεν*: Ps. D. 25. 72 *βουλεύσεως τόν...Ἀρίστωνα διώκει· ναί, φησίν· ἀδίκως γάρ μ' ἐγγέγραφεν*: Dein. 1. 7 'the council is now to be' *ἄκυρος τοῦ δικαίου· ναί, κατέψευσται γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ Δημοσθένους*: Aesch. 3. 48 *ἀπομνημονεύετ' αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ναί, εἴ γε σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ*; Hyper. *pro Eux.* col. 31 (Blass.) *ναί, δεινὰ γὰρ ἐποίησεν περὶ τὴν φιάλην*; in these exx. it is as clearly 'yes, if,' 'yes, for.' In Dem. 23. 96 it is 'yes,' in answer to a question '*οὐκ ἄρα εὐορκοῦσιν οἱ δικάσαντες αὐτό; ναί· πῶς; ἐγὼ διδάξω*. So *ναὶ μὰ Δία* Isae. 3. 39 and 49 &c. But § 115 *ἀδοξῇ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ κινδυνεύῃ...ἐλθὼν κρίνε-*

γελίᾳ πάλαι ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐήθειαν καὶ πραότητα εὐθύνας δίδωσι, καὶ ταύτας ὁπηνίκα βούλεται.
108 ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν φωνὴν ἀκήκοεν Αἰσχίνου κατηγοροῦντος Φιλίππου; τί δ'; ἐξελέγχοντα ἢ λέγοντά τι τοῦτον ἑώρακεν; οὐδὲ εἷς· ἀλλὰ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον κατηγοροῦσι Φιλίππου, καὶ ὁ τυχὼν ἀεί, ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ἠδίκη-
109 ται ἰδίᾳ δή που. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ἐζήτουν παρὰ τούτου, εἴπερ μὴ πεπρακὼς αὐτὸν ἦν, "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

σθαι and 118 ἀδοξεῖν κρίνεσθαι πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν αἱρεῖται, leave no doubt that the true reading is δικαίως ἀπόλωλε, κρίνεται, καὶ εἴ γέ τι..., ἀπολωλέναι having arisen from the false interpretation given to κρίνεται. The sentence then is of a type common enough in Dem.; the effects to Ae. of his having deceived the people being expressed ἀσυνδέτως, and falling into two pairs, the second member of the latter pair being attached as an 'ad majus' by καί...γε. Vöm. therefore is quite wrong in putting a full stop after ἀπόλωλε. Tr. 'he has deceived you; he has become infamous; he is justly a ruined man (§ 267); he is on his trial; aye and if he had met with his deserts (infr. 148) he would long ago have been impeached.' Bekk. st. and Dind. read εἴ γέ τι, which is in the last degree improbable. In this ascent 'a minori' καί is absolutely necessary.

ἐν εἰσαγγελίᾳ] like Philocrates. Hyperides *pro Eux.* § 7 gives out of the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός as the grounds among others for an impeachment, ἢ ἐάν τις πόλιν τινὰ προδῷ...ἢ ῥήτωρ ὢν μὴ λέγῃ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων χρήματα λαμβάνων, into which the charges brought by Dem. resolve themselves. For the phrase cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 9. 1. 6 ἢ ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνονται and Dem. 18. 251.

εὐήθειαν καὶ πραότητα] 'simplicity and good nature,' which are often mentioned as leading traits in the character of the people. 21. 184 μεγάλη τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν...μερὶς καὶ πλεονεξία ἡ τῶν ὑμετέρων τρόπων πραότης: 22. 78: 24, 51 φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ πραότητα τὴν ὑμετέραν: ib. 52: πραότης and φιλανθρωπία being characteristic of democracy, 22. 51: 24. 24 φιλανθρώπως καὶ δημοτικῶς: 20. 109.

§ 108. **τί δ';**] Bekk. st., Vöm., Sh. with SLFT: τίς δ' ἐξελέγχοντα Bekk.: Dind., which after ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις is very improbable. 'Is there any one of you who has heard the voice of Ae. accusing Philip? What more? Any one who has seen him exposing him or saying anything?'

δεί] 'quoties ita evenit,' 'nay any one you please.'

ἰδίᾳ] 'personally' as Aeschines on the supposition of his innocence had been. He in whose case the smart of personal injury was added to a sense of the wrong done to the state ought not of all men to have been silent.

§ 109. **ἐζήτουν**] 'I should have looked for (expected) such language as this from him, if he had not sold himself.' On the absence of ἄν Madv. 118. Antiph. ii. β 4 εἰ...ἔτρωσεν αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φονεὺς εἶναι: Dem. 51. 9 εἰ μὴ μετριωτέραν ἔσχετε τὴν ὀργήν... οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε τεθνάναι: Ps. D. 49. 2 σφαλέντος...τούτου ἀπώλλυτο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ...τὸ συμβόλαιον: 54. 33 τούτῳ δὲ μὴ παρασχομένῳ τούτους μάρτυρας ἦν δήπου λόγος οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἡλωκέναι παραχρῆμα ὑπῆρχε σιωπῇ.—Comp. 4. 33 τῶν δὲ πραξέων παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, where Cobet proposes ἀπαιτοῦντες, which is adopted by Dind. and Westermann, the latter, without having read the passage, I should imagine, conjecturing ἀπῄτουν here: 8. 75 τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε.

ἐμοὶ μὲν χρήσασθε ὅ τι βούλεσθε· ἐπίστευσα ἐξηπατήθην ἥμαρτον, ὁμολογῶ. τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φυλάττεσθε· ἄπιστος γόης πονηρός. οὐχ ὁρᾶτε οἷα πεποί-
110 ηκεν ἐμέ; οἷα ἐξηπάτηκεν;" τούτων οὐδένα ἀκούω τῶν λόγων, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ παρακρουσθεὶς οὐδ' ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἀλλὰ μισθώσας αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον ταῦτ' εἶπε καὶ προὔδωκεν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ γέγονε καλὸς κἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος μισθωτὸς ἐκείνῳ, πρεσβευτὴς μέντοι καὶ πολίτης ὑμῖν προδότης καὶ τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος.

111 Οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων μόνον δῆλός ἐσθ' ὅτι χρημάτων ἅπαντ' εἶπεν ἐκεῖνα. ἀλλ' ἧκον ὡς ὑμᾶς ἔναγχος Θετταλοὶ 375
καὶ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀξιοῦντες ὑμᾶς Φιλίππον Ἀμφικτύονα εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι. τῷ προσῆκεν οὖν

χρ. ὅ τι β.] Madv. 27. a. r. 1: 'deal with me as you like.' An example of what Cornificius 4. 29. 39 calls *permissio*, 'permissio est, quum ostendimus in dicendo, nos aliquam rem totam tradere et concedere alicujus voluntati.' Cf. Quintil. 9. 2. 25. Volkm. *Hermagoras*, p. 275.

ἐπίστευσα...] For the asyndeton cf. supr. § 76 *note*. Exx. of three terms expressed ἀσυνδέτως are innumerable. Cf. in this speech §§ 23. 60 (ending with πᾶσιν), 61, 65, 70, 74, 93, 109, 138, 145, 231, 237.

§ 110. οἷα] a quantitative acc. Madv. 27.

προὔδωκεν] sc. ὑμᾶς, as implied by the import of the sentence.

καλὸς κἀγαθός] 'and has proved himself a good true and loyal hireling to him, but as an ambassador and citizen, a traitor to you that deserves to die not once but three times over'—a common hyperbole: 9. 65: 22. 69 τρὶς οὐχ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι δίκαιος ὢν φανεῖται: 21. 118 πῶς οὐ δεκάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ μυριάκις δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι.

§§ 111—113. *That he was bribed further appears from his urging you to acknowledge Philip's claim to a seat in the Amphictyonic Council, though he had just broken all the promises made in his name.*

χρημάτων] supr. 80; 'for money,' 'was bribed to.'

ὡς ὑμᾶς] 'to you;' 4. 48 πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα: 8. 35 πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς ἑκάστοτε πρέσβεις; supr. 12, 121, 126, 192, 229, 316, and so regularly. In such passages Don. *New Cratyl.* § 170 supposes an ellipse of πρός. But if this was the origin of this use of ὡς which is found in our oldest authority *Odys.* ρ. 218 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον, it is certain that in the later language the use has gone beyond cases where εἰς or πρός could be supplied and that ὡς is used as a preposition. 2. 29 προσνενέμησθε...ὡς τούτους: 21. 112 ἕωλα ὡς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνεῖται, 'come before you;' and so of criminals coming or being brought before a court 18. 133; 21. 119 εἰσελθὼν οἴκαδε ὡς ἐκεῖνον. In none of such cases could πρός be inserted without completely changing the sense; and in Dem. 9. 11 (εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο) which Donaldson quotes in support of his view, ὡς πρός is obviously 'as if to,' which in a more general relation might be expressed by ὡς ἂν πρός, 'as one would to.'

Ἀ. εἶναι] 'by a formal decree to acknowledge Ph. as an Amphictyon.' For the infinitive after ψηφίσασθαι, Madv. 146. The envoys came to invite the Athenians, who had refused

ἀντειπεῖν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων; Αἰσχίνῃ τούτῳ. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τούτοις
112 τἀναντία ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνος. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς αὐτὸν τειχιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας οὐκ ἀπολεῖν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσειν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίους μείζους ἢ προσῆκε πεποίηκε, τοὺς δὲ Φωκέας ἄρδην ἀπολώλεκε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς οὐ τετείχικε, τὸν δὲ Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν προσεξηνδραπόδισται. πῶς ἂν ἐναντιώτερα πράγμαθ' ἑαυτοῖς τούτων γένοιτο; οὐ τοίνυν ἀντεῖπεν, οὐδὲ διῆρε τὸ στόμα, οὐδ' ἐφθέγξατο ἐναν-
113 τίον οὐδέν. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό πω δεινόν, τηλικοῦτον ὄν· ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεῖπε μόνος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καί-

to send deputies to the Council, to recognise the election of Philip to the place and two votes which had belonged to Phocis. Grote, 11. 593.

τειχιεῖν] § 21 Θεσπιὰς δὲ καὶ Πλαταιὰς οἰκιζομένας, and infr. 325: 74 τὴν Βοιωτίαν οἰκίζειν.

§ 112. **Θηβαίων ὕβριν**] 6. 30 Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως: infr. 220, quoting apparently the words in which the promise was made. Aesch. 2. 104 Θηβαίων...περιελεῖν τὴν ὕβριν. This was to be done by τὴν...Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικιεῖν 5. 10: infr. 325.

ἢ προσῆκε] 'than they should have been,' for the interests of Athens; § 64.

προσεξηνδραπόδισται] 'he has reduced O. and K. also to slavery:' infr. 325: 5. 22: 6. 13.

ἑαυτοῖς] = ἀλλήλοις, reciprocity being extended to identity. 18. 19: 4. 10 βούλεσθε...περιιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 8 σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. Don. *New Cratyl.* § 174. Mr Sandys, note to Isocr. 4. 34; Curtius' *Elucidations* &c., tr. by Abbott, p. 85.

διῆρε τὸ στόμα] infr. 207: 21. 67. 'Yet he did not oppose them—he did not open his mouth or say a word against them.'

§ 113. **καὶ οὐχί**] Because S omits δεινόν and ὄν Vöm. reads καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό πω τηλικοῦτον. The Zu- editors have the monstrosity καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό πω, τηλικοῦτον. The vulg. is undoubtedly right: cf. 9. 55 καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὂν δεινόν: 8. 30: 21. 72: 23. 163 οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων πω δῆλον ἐσθ', οὕτω σαφῶς δῆλον ὄν. Tr. 'and bad as this is, it is not the worst; the worst is that...' Comp. Pl. *Lysis*, 204 D, ἃ μὲν καταλογάδην (in prose) διηγεῖται δεινὰ ὄντα οὐ πάνυ τι δεινά ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν...: Aesch. 3. 94.

συνεῖπε μόνος] Sh. and Grote (11. 595) find a difficulty in reconciling what is said here with the fact that in the speech 'de Pace' Dem. himself advised the Athenians to make the required acknowledgment. But D. would have protested, and not unfairly, against its being said that he συνεῖπε. His main point in that speech is, that though the peace was neither an honourable one nor worthy of Athens, it was not advisable, considering their relations to the members of the Council, to give them a ground of quarrel which would lead to a war in which Athens would stand alone while Philip would be backed by powerful allies. Even if they could have resisted such a combination, the matter in question —ἡ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιά—was not a reason why they should go to war, especially as they were not willing to disturb the peace for the purpose of recovering Oropus and Amphipolis, or asserting their just rights in other

τοι τοῦτό γε οὐδὲ Φιλοκράτης ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι ὁ μιαρός, ἀλλ' Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί. καὶ θορυβούντων ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ 376
ἐθελόντων ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ καταβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου παροῦσι, πολλοὺς ἔφη τοὺς θορυβοῦντας εἶναι, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ὅταν δέῃ (μέμνησθε δή που), αὐτὸς ὢν οἶμαι θαυμάσιος στρατιώτης, ὦ Ζεῦ.

114 *Ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδένα μηδὲν ἔχοντα εἴχομεν δεῖξαι τῶν πρέσβεων, μηδ' ἦν ὥστ' ἰδεῖν ἅπαντας, βασάνους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦθ' ὑπόλοιπον ἂν ἦν σκοπεῖν· εἰ δὲ Φιλοκράτης μὴ μόνον ὡμολόγει παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδείκνυεν ὑμῖν, πυροπωλῶν, οἰκοδομῶν, βαδιεῖσθαι φάσκων*

respects. His advice that they should concede the point as the wisest course under the circumstances was something, he would have argued, very different from what he attributes to Aeschines—an active advocacy of the acknowledgment on its own merits, as something due to their friend and ally. Observe the position of ὁ μιαρός 'Yet *this* is what even Ph. did not dare to do, profligate as he was.'

θορυβούντων] a *vox media;* here 'clamoured,' as in 21. 194 βλέποντα εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ θορυβοῦντα τόπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας; 5. 15 καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι. In a good sense 6. 26 θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται: 8. 77 ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι: Arist. *Rhet.* 1. 2 θορυβοῦνται δὲ οἱ ἐνθυμηματικοί.

ἐνδεικνύμενος] infr. 160: 'showing himself off to Philip's ambassadors he said there were plenty to clamour, but few to fight when it was necessary.' For the pres. part. cf. infr. 116. Madv. 180 b. r. 1: Goodwin 108. 2. n. 1. With the last words compare 22. 78 Ἀνδροτίων ὑμῖν ἐπισκευαστὴς τῶν πομπείων, Ἀνδροτίων, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί. Aeschines in his reply (2. 167 καὶ τὸν καλὸν στρατιώτην ἐμὲ ὠνόμασεν—the article being used because Dem.'s words were as Ae. represents them ὁ καλὸς στρατιώτης. Don. *Gr. Gr.* p. 349 b.) answers the sneer, which was undeserved.

§§ 114—119. *His connection with Philocrates who made no secret of his treason and openly displayed the rewards of it, and his refusal to come forward at the impeachment of Philocrates and declare his disapproval of his conduct, was utterly inconsistent with the supposition of his innocence.*

ἦν ὥστ' ἰδεῖν] Sch.'s idea that ὁ ἔχων might be understood from the preceding clause 'neque esset (inter nos versaretur) ut nemo non oculis cernat' was unfortunate, as also Vöm.'s that δεῖξαι is to be understood with ἦν. The explanation which Sch. mentions to reject that εἶναι is added 'abundanter' is nearer the mark. It would be more correct to say that where ὥστε is added the verb or verbal phrase is apt to be conceived more by itself as independent and complete. Madv. 145 r. 3. 'Further, if we were not able to shew that any of these men had got anything and it was not plain for all men to see (it was not a fact so that all men see it), the only course left would have been to appeal to questions by torture and the like.'

παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δ.] 'before you in the assembly:' infr. 234 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν αἷς.

ἐδείκνυεν] 'used to parade it,' 'display it to you.'

πυροπωλῶν] infr. 145 οἰκίας, ξύλα,

κἂν μὴ χειροτονῆτε ὑμεῖς, ξυληγῶν, τὸ χρυσίον καταλλαττόμενος φανερῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις, οὐκ ἔνι δή που τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ εἴληφε, τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα καὶ δεικνύντα.

115 ἔστιν οὖν οὕτω τις ἀνθρώπων ἀνόητος ἢ κακοδαίμων ὥσθ', ἵνα λαμβάνῃ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἀδοξῇ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ κινδυνεύῃ, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων ἐξετάζεσθαι, τούτοις μὲν πολεμεῖν, πρὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐλθὼν κρίνεσθαι βούλεται; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδένα οἶμαι. ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦτ', ἐὰν ὀρθῶς σκοπῆτε, εὑρήσετε μεγάλα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐναργῆ σημεῖα τοῦ χρήματα τοῦτον ἔχειν.

116 Ὁ τοίνυν ὕστατον μὲν γέγονεν, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἔλαττον σημεῖον τοῦ πεπρακέναι τοῦτον ἑαυτὸν Φιλίππῳ, θεάσασθε. ἴστε δή που πρῴην, ὅτ' εἰσήγγελλεν Ὑπερείδης Φιλοκράτην,

πυρούς. The traitor Lasthenes at Olynthus roofed his house τοῖς ἐκ Μακεδονίας δοθεῖσι ξύλοις § 265, and Timotheus it is said in 49. 26 received a present of timber from King Amyntas. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 11 ἔχοντές γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται for shipbuilding: ib. 5. 1. 16: Ps. Dem. 17. 28: Thuc. 4. 108.

βαδιεῖσθαι] 'would make his journey,' i.e. into Macedonia.

καταλλαττόμενος] 'changing their gold openly at the banks,' i.e. Macedonian gold, no doubt the 'regale nomisma Philippos' (Hor. 2. *Epp.* 1. 234), into Attic coin.

§ 115.] Note the emphatic position of οὕτω. 23. 42 ὄντως ἄν ἄρα τοῦτο γένηται: 20. 24: 57. 4 οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτο ἄδικον καὶ σφόδρα πάλαι κέκριται: 21. 114 οὕτω τοίνυν οὗτός ἐστιν ἀσεβής. 'Is there then any living man so senseless or such a poor wretch that to secure money to Ph. and bring discredit and danger on himself, when he might join the ranks of the innocent, he prefers to be at war with them and join him to be prosecuted?' In § 145 he distinctly charges Aeschines with having received estates that brought him in 30 minas; cf. also § 314 εἶτα γεωργεῖς ἐκ τούτων καὶ σεμνὸς γέγονας. For βούλεσθαι which Bekker formerly read there would have been no objection, if it had rested on better MSS. authority, from its juxtaposition with κρίνεσθαι: cf. supr. 75. To the exx. there given add 32. 19 διεμαρτύρετο ἐξάγειν, βεβαιῶν ἀναπλεῖν ἐθέλειν: 14. 28 ἑκόντων εἰσφερόντων αὐτῶν. From these instances, and many more might be quoted, we see how dangerous it is for a critic to allow himself to be guided by modern ideas of euphony. Both infinitives depend on βούλεται.

§ 116. τοίνυν] continuative: 'Again, let me draw your attention to a circumstance which, though it occurred last, is as strong a proof as any.'

οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον] i.e. οὐκ ἔλαττον τινός: 2. 17 οὐδένων εἰσὶ βελτίους 'no better than others': 1. 9 and 27 οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσων: supr. 35.

εἰσήγγελλεν Ὑ. Φ.] Hyperides makes an interesting statement on the subject in his speech for Euxenippus. 'Whom, he says, have I brought to trial?' Φιλοκράτη τὸν Ἀγνούσιον, ὃς θρασύτατα καὶ ἀσελγέστατα τῇ πολιτείᾳ κέχρηται· τοῦτον εἰσαγγείλας ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ὧν Φιλίππῳ ὑπηρέτηκε κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εἶλον ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἔγραψα δικαίαν καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ῥήτορα ὄντα λέγειν μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δή-

ὅτι παρελθὼν ἐγὼ δυσχεραίνειν ἔφην ἔν τι τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, εἰ μόνος Φιλοκράτης τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων αἴτιος γέγονεν, οἱ δ' ἐννέα τῶν πρέσβεων μηδενός. καὶ οὐκ ἔφην τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν φανῆναι καθ' αὑτὸν ἐκεῖνον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους τούτων τινὰς εἶχεν.
17 ἵν' οὖν μήτ' ἀφῶ μήτ' αἰτιάσωμαι μηδένα, ἔφην, ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτὸ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους εὕρῃ τοὺς δὲ μὴ μετεσχηκότας ἀφῇ, ἀναστὰς ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀποφηνάσθω μὴ μετέχειν μηδὲ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοκράτους πεπραγμένα. καὶ τὸν τοῦτο ποιήσαντα ἀφίημι 377
ἔγωγ', ἔφην. ταῦτα μνημονεύετε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι. οὐ τοίνυν
18 παρῆλθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔστιν ἑκάστῳ τις πρόφασις· ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ὁ δ' οὐχὶ παρῆν ἴσως, τῷ δὲ κηδεστής ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος· τούτῳ δ'

μῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, χρήματα λαμβάνοντα καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τἀναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ. Philocrates avoided the trial by going into exile (Aesch. 2. 79 Φ. φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγένηται), and according to Hyperides *pro Eux.* § 2, all who were impeached almost without exception did the same, ἦν σπάνιον ἰδεῖν ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας τινὰ κρινόμενον ὑπακούσαντα εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.

δυσχεραίνειν...εἰ] infr. 309: 'that I was dissatisfied with one point in the impeachment, if it assumed that...'

τοσούτων καὶ τ.] supr. 19 τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ'...ἀγαθά.

οὐδαμοῦ... ἂν φανῆναι] 'would have been nothing thought of,' 'of no account by himself.' Pl. *Gorg.* 456 B οὐδαμοῦ ἂν φανῆναι τὸν ἰατρόν, 'would be no where,' 'utterly distanced:' *Phaed.* 72 C: Dem. 18. 320. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 52 ὥστε μηδαμοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν.

τούτων τινάς] the indefinite subject to the definite τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους: 9. 6: 24. 143: supr. 115: Lys. 19. 75 εἰσὶ δέ τινες οὐ προαναλίσκοντες: Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1023 ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες. Lyc. *c. Lyc.* 54 ἐλαχίστους ἕξετε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας. Tr. 'if he had not had aiders and abettors in some of these men.'

§ 117. **αὐτὸ...εὕρῃ**] infr. 157: 'but the facts themselves may discover the guilty parties.'

εἰς ὑμᾶς] 'before you:' supr. 23.

μὴ μετέχειν] i. e. τῶν...πεπραγμένων; 'that he has not part in the acts of Ph.'

§ 118. **οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος**] Some having passed their audit and thus become discharged from all accountability, might naturally feel disinclined to mix themselves up in the matter, having nothing to gain by such repudiation. In other cases there were, he suggests, the further reasons of absence from home or relationship.

ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος] S, L, Bekk. st., Vöm., Dind.; ἦν ἐκεῖ vulg., γρ. S, Sh.: i. e. 'another had a marriage connection in Macedonia,' and therefore was afraid Philip might wreak vengeance on his relative if he came forward against Philocrates. It is strange that one of ten envoys should be so connected with Macedonia, and that we do not hear more of it in reference to their refusal to come forward and repudiate all connection with Aeschines. It would have been so telling a topic in the mouth of Dem. that its not being mentioned again is inexplicable. I have no doubt ἐκεῖνος is right, and that it is to be un-

οὐδὲν τούτων. ἀλλ' οὕτω καθάπαξ πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι μεμισθάρνηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δῆλός ἐστιν, ἂν περ ἐκφύγῃ νῦν, καθ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρξων ἐκείνῳ, ὥσθ' ἵνα μηδὲν ἐναντίον μηδὲ ῥῆμα προῆται Φιλίππῳ, οὐδ' ἀφιέντων ἀφίεται, ἀλλ' ἀδοξεῖν κρίνεσθαι πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν αἱρεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ Φιλίππῳ τι
119 ποιῆσαι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονήν. καίτοι τίς ἡ κοινωνία, τίς ἡ πολλὴ πρόνοια ὑπὲρ Φιλοκράτους αὕτη; ὃς εἰ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα ἐπεπρεσβεύκει, χρήματα δ' ὡμολόγει λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ὥσπερ ὡμολόγει, τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ φυγεῖν καὶ διευλαβηθῆναι τῷ προῖκα πρεσβεύοντι

derstood, not with Vöm., of Philip as the κηδεστής of Phrynon, who as the orator says in § 233 sent his son there for an immoral purpose, but of Philocrates, whose conduct they were called upon to repudiate. I therefore follow Bekk. st.

καθάπαξ] 'so completely:' 18. 197 οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως: 21. 32 ἄτιμος ἔσται καθάπαξ.

ὑπάρξων] cf. §§ 54, 140: 'so absolutely has he sold himself and not only received pay for his past services, but makes it plain that hereafter too should he escape now he will be on his side against you, that to avoid uttering a word even contrary to Philip's interests (18. 213 φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ) not even when we offer to acquit him does he accept acquittal (i. e. by accepting the invitation to repudiate Philocrates), but chooses to lie under infamy, to be brought to trial, to suffer any thing in short rather than do anything displeasing to Philip.' For μηδὲν...μηδέ, imperatively required by the argument, 'utter no word even, much less do any act, opposed to P's interests.' Vöm. reads μηδέ...μηδέν with S, L, Y, and tr. 'ut ne contrarium quidem ullum verbum Philippo dixerit, nedum pro republicâ nostrâ laboravit,' which is sheer nonsense. In 20. 7 where he and Dind. read from S παντελῶς μηδὲ πλέον μέλλῃ μηδὲν εἶναι τοῖς χρηστοῖς οὖσιν, μηδέ is equally without meaning; and 18. 189 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον...διαφέρουσιν ('while alike in no other respect, especially differ in this'), which he appeals to in support of his reading, is wholly unlike it.

ἀφίεται] 'lets himself be acquitted.' So the middle is used in 32. 17 ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ Πρῶτος...οὐτοσὶ δ' οὐκ ἐξήγετο 'resisted:' Eur. *Phoen.* 602 καί σε δεύτερόν γ' ἀπαιτῶ σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους χθονός, to which Eteocles replies οὐκ ἐξαιτούμεσθα, 'I do not allow the claim.' Cf. Riddell *Dig.* 88 b.

§ 119. **τὰ κάλλιστα...ἐπεπρεσβεύκει**] = πρεσβεύων ἐπεποιήκει; infr. 188, 310. Madv. 27.

ὥσπερ ὡμολόγει] S, L, vulg., Vöm. Sh.; ὁμολογεῖ Bekk. st., Dind., with inferior MSS. The imperfect is clearly right, as Philocrates was not in Athens: cf. § 114 ἐδείκνυεν. 'And yet what is this connection, what this great anxiety about Philocrates? For if his conduct as envoy had been ever so admirable and wholly for your interests, yet if he confessed that he took bribes on the embassy as he did confess (§ 318 ὥσπερ οὐ προσίετο), this is just what an ambassador who had taken no bribe should have avoided and kept clear of and protested against for his own part.'

προσῆκε, καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι τὸ καθ' αὑτόν. οὐ τοίνυν πεποίηκε τοῦτ' Αἰσχίνης. ταῦτ' οὐ φανέρ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ταῦτ' οὐχὶ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ὅτι χρήματ' εἴληφεν Αἰσχίνης καὶ πονηρός ἐστιν ἀργυρίου συνεχῶς, οὐ δι' ἀβελτερίαν οὐδὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν, οὐδ' ἀποτυγχάνων;

20 *Καὶ τίς μου καταμαρτυρεῖ, φήσει, δῶρα λαβεῖν; τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ λαμπρόν. τὰ πράγματ' Αἰσχίνη, ἅπερ πιστότατ' ἐστὶν ἁπάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἔνεστ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' αἰτιάσασθαι ὡς ἢ πεπεισμένα ἢ χαριζόμενά τῷ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ'* 378 *οἷά περ αὐτὰ προδοὺς καὶ διαφθείρας σὺ πεποίηκας, τοιαῦτ' ἐξεταζόμενα φαίνεται, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς αὐτίκα δὴ σὺ σαυτοῦ. ἀπόκριναι γὰρ δεῦρ' ἀναστάς μοι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ δι' ἀπειρίαν γε οὐ φήσεις ἔχειν ὅ τι εἴπῃς· ὃς γὰρ ἀγῶνας*

τὸ καθ' αὑτόν.] cf. § 82.

βοᾷ] Cf. § 81; 1. 2, *note.*

ἀργυρίου] as § 111 *χρημάτων*: 'is a scoundrel for money continually, not from thoughtlessness or ignorance or through failure:' *ἀποτυγχάνων* being used absolutely, as supr. 104, where *ἂν...ἀποτυγχάνῃ* is opposed to *ἐὰν...κατορθοῖ τις.* So Thuc. 4. 22 *εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες.*

§§ 120—130. *An appeal to the facts puts his guilt beyond doubt. When you sent the third embassy to convey to Philip the resolution of Philocrates* (§ 48 sq.) *and see the performance of his promises, Aeschines excused himself on the plea of illness. The truth is, it was necessary he should stay at home to prevent any step on your part which would have interfered with the success of Philip's designs. Five days after, when the fate of Phocis was sealed, he went off to Philip and the Thebans, and took part in the rejoicings with which they celebrated their victory. All this can be proved by incontestable evidence.*

καὶ τίς...] 'and who...?' as *et* is used in Latin, *und* in German. Soph. *Aj.* 460 *καὶ ποῖον δμμα* (if I do go home) *πατρὶ δηλώσω.* Dem. 6. 16 *καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν*: and so *passim.*

τὸ λαμπρόν] 'for this is his grand argument.' For the article with the predicate cf. 20. 47 and 120; 27. 38: Isae. 3. 71 *τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δεινόν ἐστιν* 'what is truly *δεινόν*:' Pl. *Apol.* 18 C *οὗτοι...οἱ δεινοί εἰσί μου κατήγοροι*: infr. 279; Pl. *Cratyl.* 415 C *δεσμὸς οὖν ὁ λίαν καὶ ὁ μέγιστος τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ δειλία ἂν εἴη.*

καὶ οὐκ...] Cf. infr. 177. In 22. 22 he says *οἱ ἐλέγχοντες* should *ἢ τεκμήρια δεικνύναι δι' ὧν ἐμφανοῦσι τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῖν, ἢ τὰ εἰκότα φράζειν ἢ μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι*: but *εἰκότα* may be met by counter *εἰκότα* and witnesses may be prejudiced or corrupt (cf. 29. 22 'you will I am sure all admit that those who bear false witness do so *ἢ κέρδεσι δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπαιρομένους* (supr. 80) *ἢ δι' ἑταιρίαν ἢ καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τῶν ἀντιδίκων*:' 21. 139), an appeal to facts is at once convincing. Tr. 'and it is impossible to say or allege against them that they are what they are either out of compliance or to oblige any one, but such as you have made them by your treason and marring they are found on examination to be.'

σαυτοῦ] i. e. *καταμαρτυρήσεις.*

δεῦρ' with *ἀναστάς*: cf. *n.* to § 310.

δι' ἀπειρίαν γε] i. e. whatever else you may plead, you cannot plead

καινοὺς ὥσπερ δράματα, καὶ τούτους ἀμαρτύρους πρὸς διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν αἱρεῖς διώκων, δῆλον ὅτι πάνδεινος εἶ τις.

121 Πολλῶν τοίνυν καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων τῶν πεπραγμένων

want of experience in courts of law.' It was a very common thing for parties to throw themselves on the sympathy of the jury by pleading ἀπειρία. So Lys. 12. 3: 19. 2 and 55: Dem. 27. 2: 41. 2: Antiph. 1. 1 δικῶν ἄπειρος: Isae. 8. 5 παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχοντα δικαστηρίων. Sometimes, as in Isae. 1. 1, they professed to have been so strictly brought up as never to have been in a court even to listen to the proceedings, as young men were in the habit of doing (Aesch. 1. 117), and to have been ignorant of law till forced by their own case to enquire into it, 54. 17.

δ τι εἴπῃς] 'you have nothing to say.' Madv. 121.

καινούς] partly, perhaps, because they were ἀμαρτύρους, partly for the reason given by Aesch. 1. 132, where he says that one of the generals was intending to object to his proceedings against Timarchus, οὐ κρίσιν ἐξευρηκέναι με φάσκων ἀλλὰ δεινῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἀρχήν, alleging that by his action he was condemning Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Achilles and Patroclus, &c.

ὥσπερ δράματα] A hit at Aeschines' former profession, implying moreover that what he said was mere rant and acting.

πρὸς δ. τὴν ἡμέραν] 'in the division of a day.' K. The expression occurs in two other passages, Ps. D. 53. 17 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πρὸς ἡμέραν δ. καὶ ἐξελέγξας αὐτόν... εἶλον, and Aesch. 2. 126, where he offers to stop at once to allow certain slaves to be put to the torture, ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, πρὸς ἕνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι. Harpocr. s. v. says, μέρος τι ὕδατός ἐστι πρὸς μεμετρημένον ἡμέρας μέρος ῥέον· διεμετρεῖτο δὲ τῷ Ποσειδεῶνι μηνί. πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο ἠγωνίζοντο οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνες· διενέμετο δὲ εἰς τρία μέρη τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν τῷ διώκοντι, τὸ δὲ τῷ φεύγοντι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τοῖς δικάζουσι. ταῦτα δὲ σαφέστατα αὐτοὶ οἱ ῥήτορες δεδηλώκασιν ὥσπερ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος (§ 197). In accordance with this the phrase is explained to mean πρὸς ὕδωρ or πρὸς κλέψυδραν. But as in almost all cases (in which besides the γραφὴ κακώσεως this was not the case is not known) the parties were limited to a certain time longer or shorter according to the nature of the action, it could hardly be used here in addition to αἱρεῖς διώκων unless something in the circumstances give it a special significance. The point here seems to be, '*you* cannot plead inexperience; you who can conduct successfully *novel* actions as if they were dramas, and without witnesses too, and do this in the time allowed for ordinary cases, must surely be a very clever fellow.' The statement about the month Posideon (December) in the extract from Harpocration (whom Sh. inadvertently supposes to say that the great causes were tried in that month) is explained by the Schol. on Aesch. l. c. φασὶν ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος μηνὸς ἐπιλεξάμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμμέτρους καὶ δυναμένας κατέχειν ἕνδεκα ἀμφορέας πρὸς αὐτὰς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐσκευάζοντο τὴν κλέψυδραν. πρός, for which comp. the passages just quoted and 29. 9 πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ ὕδωρ...διδάξειν ἠμέλλομεν: 41. 30 πρὸς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἀναγκαζόμενος λέγειν, should not be taken as = 'against,' but 'in conformity with,' 'in reference to,' as said of something which regulates and has to be conformed to. Cf. *n.* to 1. 11.

§ 121. **τοίνυν**] 'then,' introducing the exposition grounded on the appeal to the facts: supr. § 2 *note*.

Αἰσχίνῃ τούτῳ, καὶ πολλὴν κακίαν ἐχόντων, ὡς καὶ ὑμῖν οἴομαι δοκεῖν, οὐδέν ἐστιν οὗ μέλλω λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, δεινότερον, οὐδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δεδωροδοκηκότ' αὐτὸν καὶ πεπρακότα πάντ' ἐξελέγξει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπεστέλλετ' αὖθις αὖ τὸ τρίτον τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐλπίσι ταύταις αἷς οὗτος ὑπέσχητο, ἐχειροτονήσατε καὶ τοῦτον κἀμὲ καὶ
122 τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους τοὺς αὐτούς. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ παρελθὼν ἐξωμοσάμην εὐθέως, καὶ θορυβούντων τινῶν καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν οὐκ ἂν ἔφην ἀπελθεῖν· οὗτος δ' ἐκεχειροτόνητο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέστη μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡ ἐκκλησία, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύονθ' οὗτοι τίν' αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν. ἔτι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων μετεώρων καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου, σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι παντοδαποὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίγνοντο τότε· ἐφοβοῦντο δὴ μὴ σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία γένοιτο ἐξαίφνης, εἶτα ἀκούσαντες ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ ψηφίσαισθέ τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ τῶν Φωκέων, καὶ τὰ πράγματ'
123 ἐκφύγοι τὸν Φίλιππον. εἰ γὰρ ἐψηφίσασθε μόνον καὶ 379

ἐχόντων] 'involving:' cf. supr. 28.

ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ..ἐξελέγξει] 'or which will more palpably convict him:' infr. 132: Aesch. 2. 88 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δείξαιμι ψεῦδος ὄν.

ἐπί...] 'under those great and splendid expectations the defendant had held out.' The phrase should not be diluted by tr. 'the hopes he had raised by his promises:' cf. § 18.

τοὺς αὐτούς] 'most of the rest the same as before.' The embassy here spoken of is that which was sent to carry the intelligence to Philip of the resolution passed on the motion of Philocrates in the assembly of the 16th of Skirophorion after the return of the ambassadors from administering the oaths to Philip § 57. The purport of the resolution is given in § 48 sq.

§ 122. ἐξωμοσάμην] 'excused myself on oath:' *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. ἐξωμοσία.

θορυβούντων] 'clamoured,' as above § 113.

ἐκεχειροτόνητο] 'had already been elected,' and remained so, having made no excuse.

καταλείψουσιν] Madv. 132 b: 'consulted which of their number they should leave at home' to watch Demosthenes.

σύλλογοι] 'meetings and discussions of all kinds were taking place in the Agora at the time,' showing the excited state of the public mind. Xen. *An.* 5. 7. 2 σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι (Lat. *circuli;* Livy 3. 17) συνίσταντο. Similar παρονομασίαι (—λογοι.....λόγοι) are common enough, especially in Thucydides 2. 62; 3. 39; 4. 62; 6. 76, &c.

σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία] 'an extraordinary assembly,' as contrasted with the ordinary (κυρίαι) meetings. In Aesch. 3. 72 ἐκκλησίαι σύγκλητοι are opposed to τὰς τεταγμένας ἐκ τῶν νόμων; cf. infr. 154.

εἶτα] 'and then:' supr. 28.

τι τῶν δ.] 'pass some proper resolution,' a common Demosthenic expression: supr. § 91; 3. 36; 1. 20.

ἐκφύγοι] 'slip out of his hands,'

μικρὰν ὑπεφήνατ' ἐλπίδα ἡντινοῦν αὐτοῖς, ἐσώθησαν ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν μὴ παρακρουσθέντων ὑμῶν μεῖναι Φιλίππῳ· οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀσπόρῳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γεγονυίᾳ, οὔθ' ἡ σιτοπομπία δυνατὴ τριήρων οὐσῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης κρατουσῶν, αἵ τε πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ χαλεπαὶ λαβεῖν αἱ τῶν Φωκέων, μὴ οὐ χρόνῳ καὶ πολιορκίᾳ· εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πόλιν ἥρει, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰσιν
124 ἀριθμῷ. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα, ἵνα μηδὲν μεταθῆσθε ὧν ἐξηπάτησθε, τοῦτον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ἐξομόσασθαι μὲν δὴ μὴ μετ' αἰτίας τινὸς δεινὸν ἦν καὶ ὑποψία μεγάλη. "τί λέγεις; ἐπὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ οὐχὶ βαδίζεις ἀπαγγείλας οὐδὲ πρεσβεύεις;" ἔδει δὲ μένειν. πῶς οὖν; ἀρρωστεῖν προφασίζεται, καὶ λαβὼν Ἐξήκεστον τὸν ἰατρὸν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν τῇ βουλῇ ἐξώμοσεν ἀρρω-
125 στεῖν τουτονὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχειροτονήθη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπωλώλεσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις πέντε ἢ ἕξ, καὶ τέλος

as 3. 3 τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι.

§ 123. **ὑπεφήνατ'**] 'if you had shown them a ray of hope of any kind they would have been saved;' hence the anxiety of Philip and his adherents § 51. On the word see L. and S., and for the force of the preposition compare ὑποδείκνυμι (Thuc. 1. 77 οἷα καὶ τότε...ὑπεδείξατε 'gave symptoms of:') ὑπόλευκος, ὑποσημαίνω (Thuc. 1. 83), ὑπολάμπω (Her. 1. 120 τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὑπέλαμπε).

ἐνῆν] 'it was impossible, yes impossible, for P. to have remained if you had not been tricked;' the apodosis through the absence of ἄν being represented as an actual fact. Madv, 118: Goodwin 49 *n.* 3 a.

ἐκεῖ] under Proxenus § 52.

μὴ οὐ] after χαλεπαὶ λαβεῖν as involving a negative idea: cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 12. Madv. 211 c. Examples of μὴ οὐ with a participle are rare in Attic prose. Cf. Pl. *Lysis.* 212 D οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶ φίλον τῷ φιλοῦντι οὐδὲν μὴ οὐκ ἀντιφιλοῦν: Isocr. 10. 47 τοιαύτης δὲ τιμῆς τυχεῖν...οὐχ οἷόν τε μὴ οὐ τὸν πολὺ τῇ γνώμῃ διαφέροντα. Tr. 'except by a tedious siege.' Observe the expression ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 'a city (in) a day,' which ordinarily would be 'by day')('by night.' Here it is used as in the phrases ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις, &c. in which the preposition marks the limits within which the action takes place. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 32 where ἐν ἡμέρᾳ is opposed to ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ.

μεταθῆσθε] Bekk. st., Sh.: Dind. adopts Sch.'s conj. μετάθοισθε as he adopted Bekker's ἐξέλθοιτε in § 51. S has μεταθήσεσθε. For the conj. cf. § 77.

§ 124. **ὧν**] i.e. τούτων ἃ: 'might not change the course into which you had been entrapped.' K.

ἐξομόσασθαι] i. e. for Aeschines himself to do so; therefore his brother was sent; hence the active below; 'to excuse himself without some reason was dangerous and a strong ground of suspicion.'

ἔδει] 'but it was necessary that he should stay. How to manage it then?' infr. 322 τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ἔδει κωλῦσαι...ἵνα...κωλύοιθ' ὑμεῖς. πῶς οὖν; Which of the two brothers of Ae., Aphobetus and Philochares (§ 237), is meant here cannot be determined.

εἶχε τὸ μίσθωμα ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλο τι τούτῳ, καὶ ὁ Δερκύλος ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος ἧκεν ἀναστρέψας καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν ὑμῖν ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὅτι Φωκεῖς ἀπολώλασι, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες εἰκότως κἀκείνοις συνήχθεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξεπέπληχθε, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίζεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίζειν καὶ τὰ
26 Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύειν,—ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἦν καὶ τοιαύτη ταραχὴ καὶ τοσοῦτος θόρυβος περιειστήκει τὴν πόλιν, τηνικαῦτα ὁ σοφὸς καὶ δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ εὔφωνος οὔτε βουλῆς οὔτε δήμου χειροτονήσαντος αὐτὸν ᾤχετο πρεσβεύων ὡς τὸν ταῦτα πεποιηκότα, οὔτε τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ἐφ' ᾗ τότ' ἐξωμό- 380

§ 125. **ὥσπερ ἄν**] sc. *τέλος εἶχε*: 6. 8 *note* and infr. § 156; 'and his hire had come to an end as anything else might have done,' when the purpose had been attained. Thuc. 6. 18 (quoted by Sh.) *τὴν πόλιν τρίψεσθαί τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι*, i.e. it would form no exception to the general rule. Dem. 21. 117 *ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλος τις*: 39. 10 *πλὴν εἰ σημεῖον, ὥσπερ ἄλλῳ τινί, τῷ χαλκίῳ πρόσεσται* 'as it might be to anything else.' Thuc. 1. 142. 9 *τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι.*

ἧκεν] Dercylus was one of the Ambassadors; therefore *ἧκεν* is 'had returned.' Cf. §§ 60, 86. For *αὐτοί* Vöm. reads with S *ἑαυτοῖς*. But Greek usage would require *ὑπέρ* with the gen. or *περί* with the gen. or dat. 'You naturally felt sympathy for them and were yourselves filled with consternation and passed a vote to bring in your wives and children out of the country.'

κατακομίζειν] Cf. *n.* to § 86.

ἐν ἄστει] = the *ἐντὸς τείχους* of § 86.

§ 126. **τὰ Ἡ....θύειν**] Xen. *An.* 1. 2. 10 *τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε*, 'sacrificiis factis celebravit:' infr. 128 *note*. *δεινός* as an orator, § 120 *πάνδεινος*: 339: 'this clever, eloquent, loud-voiced gentleman.' All the brothers seem to have been gifted in the way of *εὐφωνία*. Cf. §§ 238, 337.

ἐφ' ᾗ] 'taking into account the indisposition which formed his reason for excusing himself.' Aeschines (2. 94) denies that he did so and asserts that he sent his brother and nephew with a physician to testify that he was ill and to say that he would go as soon as his health would permit. (This is very probably true; but the reason he gives, *οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐᾷ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονίας ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἐξόμνυσθαι*, must certainly be taken with some limitation. As a rule, any one who could not serve no doubt at once excused himself in the assembly; but if after his election unforeseen circumstances suddenly occurred to prevent his acting and there was no assembly at the time, the Senate which sat every day would naturally be appealed to.) In the mean time all the ambassadors, and not Dercylus only, had returned *πυθόμενοι τὰ περὶ τοὺς Φωκέας*, and in an assembly held in consequence the people passed a resolution *πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἱρεθέντας*. Dem. seems to support this infr. 172, where he says *ἐπὶ...τὴν τρίτην πρεσβείαν δίς με χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν δὶς ἐξωμοσάμην*. If so Dem. antedates the alarm of the Athenians in order to aggravate the offence of Aeschines. For it is incredible that the people were seized with this panic at hear-

σαθ' ὑπολογισάμενος, οὔθ' ὅτι πρεσβευτὴς ἄλλος ᾑρητο ἀνθ' αὑτοῦ, οὔθ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων ὁ νόμος θάνατον τὴν
127 ζημίαν εἶναι κελεύει, οὔθ' ὅτι πάνδεινόν ἐστιν ἀπηγγελκότα ὡς ἐπικεκήρυκται χρήματ' αὐτῷ ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τῷ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἔχειν καὶ τῆς Φωκέων χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς γεγόνασι, τηνικαῦτα εἰς μέσας τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατόπεδον βαδίζειν· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔκφρων ἦν καὶ ὅλος πρὸς τῷ λήμματι καὶ τῷ δωροδοκήματι ὥστε πάντα ταῦτα ἀνελὼν καὶ παριδὼν ᾤχετο.

128 Καὶ τοιούτου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος, ἔτι πολλῷ δεινότερά ἐστιν ἃ ἐκεῖσε ἐλθὼν διεπράξατο. ἁπάντων γὰρ ὑμῶν τουτωνὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων οὕτω δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἡγουμένων τοὺς ταλαιπώρους πάσχειν Φωκέας ὥστε μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς μήτε τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὰ Πύθια πέμψαι, ἀλλ' ἀποστῆναι τῆς πατρίου θεωρίας, οὗτος εἰς τἀπινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι

ing that the Phocians had done what their resolution carried by the envoys called on them to do. It is more probable that it was the result of the information that the cities of the Phocians were destroyed: therefore some days after the time here mentioned by Demosthenes. Cf. 18. 36 τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν.

θ. τὴν ζημίαν] 'punishes such offences with death.' The phrase is found with and without the article before ζημία. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 65 θ. ὥρισαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν: Dem. 20. 135 θ. ζημίαν ἐτάξατε: Thuc. 2. 24 θ. ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο: Dem. 39. 12, the article denoting the *due* or *legal* punishment.

§ 127. **πάνδεινον**] 'it was utterly monstrous after reporting that a price had been set on his head at Thebes (§ 21), now that the Th. in addition to their being in possession of the whole of B. (cf. *n.* to 141), had become masters of Phocis as well, to take a journey then.'

ὅλος πρός] 'wholly bent on,' 18. 176 πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένησθε: Pl. *Phaed.* 84 c πρὸς τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἦν: Aesch. 3 101 ἀναφαίνεται περὶ ἅπαντ' ὢν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι.

ἀνελών...] 'putting aside and disregarding.' 18. 149 ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδών.

§ 128. **τοὺς...θεωροὺς**] Cf. § 64: *Gr. and R. Ant.* s.v. Dercylus returned on the 27th of Skirophorion (June) with the news that Phocis had capitulated. As the games were held some time after the work of destruction was completed, it is reasonable to infer that they were celebrated in the autumn. Thirl. 6. p. 5: Grote 11. 591.

εἰς τἀπινίκια] 'went to the sacrifices which the Th. and Philip offered for their success and the results of the war and was feasted.' Comp. θύειν σωτήρια Xen. *Anab.* 3. 2. 9: ἀποθῦσαι...τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα ib. 4. 8. 25: Herod. 1. 118 σῶστρα...τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν: supr. 125. Similar in principle are βοηδρόμια πέμψωσιν Dem. 3. 31: χορηγεῖν Διο-

καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθυον, εἱστιᾶτο ἐλθών, καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν ηὔχετο ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προὔπινεν.

9 Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὕτω τρύτῳ δ' ἄλλως πως εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς 381
τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρῴῳ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δημόσιος τέτακται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἄντικρυς περὶ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος γέγραπται· ὑπὲρ δ' ὧν ἐκεῖ διεπράξατο, οἱ συμπρεσβεύοντες καὶ παρόντες καταμαρτυρήσουσιν, οἵπερ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα διηγοῦντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' αὐτοῖς συνεπρέσβευσα, ἀλλ'

νύσια 21. 64: λαμπάδα ἕδραμες Arist, *Vesp.* 1202. Madv. 26. r. 2.

ἐπί] 'for,' 'in thanksgiving for the lost towns...' Arist. *Eq.* 655 ἤδη μοι δοκεῖ ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσιν εἰσηγγελμέναις εὐαγγέλια θύειν: Dem. 18. 287: Soph. *El.* 1221. With what follows comp. Pl. *Symp.* 176 A Σωκράτους...δειπνήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, σπονδάς τε σφᾶς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεὸν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πότον: Xen. *Symp.* c. 2 § 1 ὡς ἀφῃρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἐσπείσαντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν. In 18. 287 he charges Aeschines with doing the same after the battle of Chaeronea ἐκεῖ...κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου.

φιλοτησίας] Strictly an adjective with κύλικας understood. Arist. *Lysistr.* 203 δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία: Alexis (Mein. *Com. Frag.* p. 762 ed. min.) φιλοτησίαν σοι τήνδ' ἐγὼ...κύλικα προπίομαι. Tr. 'pledged him in the cup of friendship,' 'drank his health.' Athen. 11. 498 πληροῦντες γὰρ προθύμνον ἀλλήλοις μετὰ προσαγορεύσεως. Aeschines defends himself in 2. 162 sq.

§ 129. **καὶ...μὲν...δέ**] Comp. 9. 27 καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς ἔργοις δ' οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ'...: ib. 57: 15. 16: 18. 173, 288: 21: 123: 29. 54: 43. 53 οὐ τοίνυν...ταῦτα μὲν ἔδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης...ἕτερα δ' οὐ προσέταξεν, ἀλλά... 'while the legislator has granted these rights, he has not failed to impose other duties.' In Lys. 3. 37 where Schiebe has οὐ τοίνυν ταῦτα εἰκότα, ἄλλως δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν πέπρακται, we ought to read ταῦτα μέν. Madv. 189. 'And these things it is not possible for me to state thus and Ae. otherwise; but with regard to the affidavit there is evidence among your public documents in the temple of the Mother of the Gods of which the public servant is put in charge.' 24. 178 ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς τὸν δημόσιον παρεῖναι προσέγραψεν...τοῖς ἑαυτῆς δούλοις: 2. 19: Aesch. 2. 52 ἄνθρωπος δημόσιος οἰκέτης τῆς πόλεως. *Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s.v.

τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑ.] For the repetition of the article cf. § 26 *note.* Lys. 7. 24 ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις.

ἐν τῷ μητρῴῳ] *Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s.v. γραμματεύς. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 66 φέρε γὰρ...εἴ τις ἕνα νόμον εἰς τὸ μητρῷον ἐλθὼν ἐξαλείψεται: Ps. D. 25. 99: cf. Aesch. 2. 89. Observe ἄντικρυς separated from γέγραπται as διαρρήδην from its verb in § 104.

τούτου τοῦ ὀ.] 'concerning this name' i. e. of Aeschines. Aesch. (2. 94) complains that Dem. refers only to one psephism and passes over the other, which directed the ambassadors originally chosen to go out again, καὶ ψήφισμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέγνως, τὸ δ' ὑπερέβης. Cf. supr. 127.

ὑπέρ] 'with respect to:' cf. § 7.

παρόντας] infr. 162.

130 ἐξωμοσάμην· καί μοι λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας κάλει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τίνας οὖν εὐχὰς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εὔχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Φίλιππον ὅτ' ἔσπενδεν, ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους; ἆρ' οὐ κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις διδόναι, καὶ τἀναντία τοῖς τῶν Φωκέων; οὐκοῦν ταῦτα συνεύχετο οὗτος καὶ κατηρᾶτο τῇ πατρίδι, ἃ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ δεῖ τρέψαι.

131 Οὐκοῦν ᾤχετο μὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς θάνατον κελεύει τούτων τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖσε ἑτέρων θανάτων ἄξια ποιῶν πέφανται· τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πεπραγμένα καὶ πεπρεσβευμένα ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν αὐτὸν δικαίως. σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν τί ἔσται τίμημα ὃ ταύτην ἕξει τὴν ἀξίαν

§ 130. τὰ γράμματα must refer to the record of the reason assigned by Ae. for not going with the rest on the first mission. Aesch. l. c.

κράτος...νίκην] 'mastery in war (as it proceeded) and victory (to crown it).' Soph. *El.* 84 ταῦτα γὰρ φέρει νίκην τ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κράτος τῶν δρωμένων, where Mr Jebb has rightly noted the distinction.

κατηρᾶτο τῇ πατρίδι) So infr. 292 κατηρῶ Φιλίππῳ; Arist. *Vesp.* 871, and so regularly, though the *gen.* might have been looked for. Comp. καταγελάσαι ἡμῶν in Herod. 7. 9: τοῖς σοῖς ἄχεσιν καθυβρίζων Soph. *Aj.* 155; τὸ δαιμόνιον κατεκώμασε δώμασιν Οἰδιπόδα Eur. *Phoen.* 352. Madv. 36. Though Cobet peremptorily denies it ('suapte naturâ quidquid sic compositum est genetivum postulat.' *Nov. L.* p. 97) some of such verbs take an accusative; Eur. *Bacch.* 286 καὶ καταγελᾶς νιν, ὡς ἐνερράφη: ib. 503 λάζυσθε, καταφρονεῖ με καὶ Θήβας ὅδε: Soph. *El.* 522 καθυβρίζουσα καὶ σὲ καὶ τὰ σά, where the metre forbids any change. Tr. 'wished evil to his country which you ought now to make fall on his own head,' 18. 290 καὶ λέγεις, ἃ σοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν and ib. 294 where the article (τὴν κεφαλήν) is used.

§§ 131—133. *It would expose you to universal censure, if, dissatisfied as you are known to be with the peace and angry with and suspicious of Philip, you were not to punish Ae. for these and his other crimes.*

τὴν ζημίαν] supr. § 127.

εἶναι] supr. § 48.

Of ὑπὲρ τούτων Reiske offers two explanations; 1. that τούτων means Philip and the Thebans, 2. the Athenians, 'horum nomine.' The latter though adopted by Sch. cannot be right as Dem. is directly addressing the jury, not Aeschines. They seem to have been led astray by ὑπέρ which is here again 'de.' K. and Sh. are therefore right in making τούτων neuter, 'in this behalf,' 'in regard to these matters.' 'His previous acts and conduct in regard to these matters as ambassador will justify his being put to death.'

τὴν ἀξιάν] 'consider therefore what punishment there can be which will be severe enough to be adequate to his many crimes.' Pl. *Apol.* 36 A τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι: Dem. 21, 127 τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων παρὰ τούτου δίκην λαβεῖν.

ὥστε τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων ἀξιόχρεων φαίνεσθαι. πῶς γὰρ
32 οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἅπαντας
ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅλον τὸν δῆμον πᾶσι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐκ τῆς
εἰρήνης ἐπιτιμᾶν, καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι κοινωνεῖν
ἐθέλειν δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον,
ὡς ἀσεβῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ οὔτε 382
δικαίων οὔθ' ὑμῖν συμφερόντων, εἰς δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον
εἰσελθόντας τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων εὐθύνας δικάσοντας, ὅρκον
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὀμωμοκότας, τὸν ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν
αἴτιον, καὶ ὃν εἰλήφατ' ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα,
33 τοῦτον ἀφεῖναι; καὶ τίς οὐ δικαίως ὑμῖν ἐγκαλέσει τῶν
ἄλλων πολιτῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶν
Φιλίππῳ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀργιζομένους, ὃς ἐκ πολέμου ποιούμενος

ἀξιόχρεων] 'adequate,' 'sufficient for the occasion:' infr. 295: often of sureties and witnesses, 8. 49: Pl. *Apol.* 38 B *ἐγγυηταὶ δ' ὑμῖν ἔσονται τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὗτοι ἀξιόχρεω*: ib. 20 E *εἰς ἀξιόχρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω* 'locupletem testem.'

πῶς...μὲν...δέ] 'For would it not be disgraceful that you and the whole people should condemn all the proceedings which followed the peace and refuse to take part in the proceedings of the A. (§ 128) and yet when you have come into court to pronounce as judges upon the account rendered of these matters, you should acquit this man?' This is one of the commonest modes of stating the rhetorical *ἐνθύμημα* (in the narrower sense, in which it was used by the Greek Rhetoricians, of a rhetorical conclusion drawn from opposites; Cic. *Top.* § 55), in which the clause with *μέν*, expressing some fact real or assumed, is subordinate to the other, and it is asked whether it would not be monstrous and a thing to be ashamed of, if with such facts before them they were to act differently in the case supposed or under discussion; hence called 'argumentum ex contrario' or 'contrarium' by Cornificius, who explains it at length 4. 25. 26. Madv. 189. Cf. 20. 9 and 12 *οὐκοῦν αἰσχρόν, εἰ...* and so ib. 71: 23. 211 *πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, Αἰγινήτας μὲν τουτουσὶ...ὑμεῖς δέ*: 24. 31 *ἢ πῶς οὐ σχέτλιον τὴν μὲν πόλιν...αὐτὴν δέ...*: Ps. D. 26. 24 *πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ συμβαῖνον ἄλογον, εἰ...*: 27. 28 *καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινὸν εἰ...*: 29. 14: 32. 23: 41. 9 &c. Often (2) the question is introduced by *εἶτα*, with the same subordination of clauses (with or without *μέν* and *δέ*), the speaker frequently not leaving the conclusion to his hearers but answering himself by a *μηδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἄτοπον, οὐκ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκατε* or *οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα*. 1. 24: 9. 13: 20. 86 and 158: 21. 226: 23. 174: 24. 137: 37. 60: 38. 22.

ὡς...ὄντων] supr. § 5 *ὡς εἰδότων*. *ὑπὲρ τούτων* as in § 131. *τὸν...αἴτιον* sc. *ὄντα*. Strictly *εἰλήφατε ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* is inconsistent with *πεποιηκότα*: but *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* is used somewhat loosely for 'on the clearest evidence' (supr. 121); the evidence enabling them to see him as it were in the act; 'acquit the author of these mischiefs, whose guilt you have discovered on the clearest evidence.' For *τὸν...τοῦτον* cf. § 86.

§ 133. **καὶ τίς**] cf. § 110 *note*. On the form *ἐγκαλέσει* cf. Cob. *Nov. L.* pp. 64, 438: Veitch. *Gr. V.* p. 305.

ἐκ πολέμου] 'in concluding peace after war purchased the means of

εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων τὰς πράξεις ἐωνεῖτο, πρᾶγμα πολλὴν συγγνώμην ἔχον διαπραττόμενος, τουτονὶ δ' ἀφιέντας, ὃς τὰ ὑμέτερα οὕτως αἰσχρῶς ἀπέδοτο, τῶν νόμων τὰ ἔσχατα ταττόντων ἐπιτίμια ἐάν τις ταῦτα ποιῇ.

134 Τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως καὶ τοιοῦτος ἥξει τις λόγος παρὰ τούτων, ὡς ἀρχὴ γενήσεται πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας, εἰ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων τὴν εἰρήνην καταψηφιεῖσθε. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἔχω σκοπούμενος εὑρεῖν ὅ τι μεῖζον τούτου κατηγορήσω. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήματ' ἀναλώσας ὥστε τυχεῖν, οὗτος οὕτω γέγονε φοβερὸς καὶ μέγας ὥστε τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀμελήσαντας ὑμᾶς ἤδη τι Φιλίπ-

effecting it from those who would sell them;' infr. 300. Comp. 9. 36 sq. where he contrasts the corruption of the public men of his own with the high principle of those of former times.

§§ 134—146. *Perhaps it will be said that if you were to condemn him it would lead to a rupture with Philip. If this be so, if Philip has really become so formidable through the peace he purchased, what adequate punishment can you inflict on Aeschines? But I say that it would more likely be the commencement of an advantageous friendship, judging from the case of Timagoras and the fact that Philip was led against his original intention to benefit Thebes through the disinterested conduct of her envoys, which stands in striking contrast to that of Aeschines and his colleagues.*

Occupatio, introduced as in 20. 18 τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε Λεπτίνης: 21. 191: 45. 83 τάχα τοίνυν ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῦτό τις αὐτῶν εἴποι. Tr. 'again, perhaps an argument of the following kind will be put forward by these men.' Aesch. 1. 125 ἥξει δ', ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἕτερος λόγος τις ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοφιστοῦ συγκείμενος: Dem. 21. 141 τάχα τοίνυν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις ἥξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγος, from which the 'tiro' will see that the construction is not ἥξει παρά, but λόγος παρά, as supr. 49: 9. 47 ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐηθὴς λόγος παρὰ τῶν...βουλομένων.

τῶν πρ. τὴν εἰρήνην] = πρεσβεύσαντες ἔπραξαν (3. 7); 'who as ambassadors effected the peace:' 'who negotiated the peace:' infr. 273: Andoc. 3. 23 ποίαν τιν' οὖν χρὴ εἰρήνην πρεσβεύοντας ἥκειν: ib. § 29 ἃ ἡμῖν ἐπρέσβευσεν Ἐπίλυκος. Comp. Thuc. 3. 109 σπένδεσθαι ἀναχωρησιν: Dem. 11. 105 εἰσελθεῖν γραφήν. Madv. 26.

ἐγὼ δ'] 'I reply that if this be so, I cannot conceive what graver charge I can bring against him,' κατηγορήσω being of course the conjunctive. Madv. 121.

τῆς εἰρήνης] 'for,' 'to purchase:' 3. 22 προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα χάριτος...τὰ πράγματα.

ὥστε τυχεῖν] as supr. 81 ἔγωγ' ἂν ἔδωκα οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν...ὥστε βοᾶν: 21. 3 ἐξόν μοι λαβεῖν ὥστε μὴ κατηγορεῖν: 18. 81: Aesch. 1. 46 χιλίας μᾶλλον δραχμὰς ἀποτῖσαι...ὥστε μὴ δεῖξαι τὸ πρόσωπον...ὑμῖν. 'spent money for the peace that he might obtain it,' 'to obtain the peace.'

οὕτω] emphatic by position: cf. 4. 29 *note*.

τῶν δικαίων] is not said in reference to the people at large, 'our rights' (6. 35), but to the jurors, 'the requirements of justice;' 'that disregarding your oaths and obligations you must now consider what you can do to oblige Philip, what

πῳ χαριεῖσθε σκοπεῖν, τί παθόντες ἂν οἱ τούτων αἴτιοι τὴν
35 προσήκουσαν δίκην δεδωκότες εἶεν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφερούσης ὑμῖν οὕτω μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν εἰκό-
των γενήσεται, καὶ τοῦτ' οἴομαι δείξειν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι
χρὴ τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐ καταφρονεῖ Φίλιππος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας, οὐδ' ἀχρηστοτέρους νομίσας 383
Θηβαίων ἐκείνους εἵλετ' ἀνθ' ὑμῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων
ἐδιδάχθη καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν· ἃ καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' εἶπον ἐγὼ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, ὡς ὁ μὲν
δῆμός ἐστιν ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν πάντων καὶ ἀσυν-
136 θετώτατον, ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ πνεῦμα ἀκατάστατον, ὡς

is the fitting punishment for those who have brought this about?' ἂν which belongs to δ. εἶεν attaching itself to the emphasised παθόντες, supr. 67 *note*.

§ 135. **οὐ μὴν ἀλλά**] an elliptical expression which arose from the falling out after οὐ μήν of a statement opposed to that which ἀλλά introduces, 'not however so, but on the contrary;' whence it came to be used, as in Dem. *passim*, quite adverbially in the sense of 'not but that,' 'however,' 'nevertheless.' Cf. 1. 4 *note*

ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων] 'however I even think I can show that your doing so will in all probability rather form the commencement of (lead to) a friendship advantageous to you.' The plural in such phrases is not very common. Sch. quotes Pl. *Charm.* 157 C: cf. also Dem. 52. 29 οὐκ ἔκ γε τῶν εἰκότων: Soph. *Aj.* 716 ἐξ ἀέλπτων. Of the rarer ἐξ εἰκότος for which Sh. refers to Pl. *Phaedr.* 238 E, there is an ex. in Dem. 29. 46 ἵνα ἐξ εἰκότος οὐδὲν προσῆκον ἡμῖν φανῇ.

ἀχρηστοτέρους] In 6. 7 sq. where he is arguing against Philip he says that the king deliberately preferred the friendship of Thebes from the first to that of Athens, because he was sure that they would help him in his schemes in return for his services to them, while to the Athenians, ever the champions of Hellenic liberties, he could offer no bait attractive enough to induce them to consent to the destruction of Phocis.

καὶ πρότερον] Καί here does not answer to the following καί, but is *epitatic*; cf. on § 157. Ps. D. 13. 9 διελέχθην δ' ὑμῖν περὶ τούτων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ διεξῆλθον; Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 3. 6. 1. Tr. 'The fact is he was instructed by these men and told, as I said to you once before, and none of them contradicted me, that a democracy is of all things the most unstable and inconstant, just like a restless wave in a sea put in motion by a wind as accident may determine—one comes, another goes—no one cares for the public interests, nay does not even remember them.'

ἀστάθμητος = 'what cannot be measured by rule;' hence, *uncertain, not to be calculated on.* Sh. well compares Arist. *Av.* 169 ἄνθρωπος ὄρνις ἀστάθμητος πετόμενος ἀτέκμαρτος, οὐδέποτ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μένων. Cf. also Pl. *Lys.* 214 C τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς ...μηδέποτε ὁμοίους μηδ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμπλήκτους τε καὶ ἀσταθμήτους.

§ 136. **ἀσύνθετος** = 'what is not put together so as to form an harmonious whole;' hence, *irregular, swayed by an internal principle of disunion, inconstant.* Vömel, after Reiske, tr. 'infidam,' but this introduces a conception not in harmony with the rest

ἂν τύχῃ, κινούμενον· ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν· μέλει δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέμνηται. δεῖ δέ τινας φίλους ὑπάρχειν τοὺς ἕκαστα πράξοντας ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικήσοντας, οἷον αὐτὸς δή· κἄνπερ αὐτῷ τοῦτο κατασκευασθῇ,
137 πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν βούληται παρ' ὑμῖν ῥᾳδίως διαπράξεται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤκουσεν, οἶμαι, τοὺς τότε ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντας παραχρῆμα, ὡς δεῦρ' ἐπανῆλθον, ἀποτετυμπανισμένους, ἐποί-

of the description. S, L, Υ have ἀσυνετώτατον, which is either a blunder or a correction induced by a recollection of the passages in which the ἄνοια of democracy is dwelt on, e.g. Thuc. 6. 89. All the MSS. have πνεῦμα, which in combination with κινούμενον and ἐν θαλάσσῃ might confidently be pronounced wrong even if the imitation of the passage in Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 3. 20 ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὢν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητος ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ κῦμα κινούμενον, ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν) did not prove it. Sh. therefore adopts Sch.'s conj. πνεύματι κῦμα which is probably right. In illustration of ἀκατάστατον Sh. well compares Arist. *Eq.* 862 ὅταν...ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ (is still) λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν. Cf. 20. 11 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἓν ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνα κατέστη 'those troubles were settled': Lys. 13. 25 ἕως τὰ πράγματα κατασταίη: infr. 314 κλύδωνα...τὰ καθεστηκότα πράγματα.

κινούμενον] Vulg., Bekk. st., Sh., which is supported by Appian l. c.; κινούμενος S, Dind., Vöm. But besides the awkwardness of returning to δῆμος after the interposed neuters, the comparison is between the people as unstable and a restless wave 'κινούμενον;' and were it not so, it would be more in accordance with usage, as Sh. observes, that the word should agree with the thing brought forward in illustration than with the leading idea.

ὁ μέν] om. S, 'antiq. addidit.' On this slender authority Vöm. omits the words, joining κινούμενος ἦλθε, 'fortuito agitatum accedere, alium recedere!!'

ἀλλ'] om. S, Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm. But the weight of MS. authority is for it and it is required by the climax. Cf. Ps. D. 10. 1 which forms a good gloss on the latter part of this passage, 'ταῖς γνώμαις...ἀφεστήκατε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον σπουδάζετε ὅσον ἂν κάθησθε ἀκούοντες ἢ προσαγγελθῇ τι νεώτερον, εἶτ' ἀπελθὼν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν φροντίζει περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέμνηται: also Ps. D. 7. 18 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πεπεισμένος (Philip) ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς χρῆται ὡς ὑμεῖς οὐ μνημονεύετε τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰρημένα.'

οἷον αὐτὸς δή] 'and he ought to have certain friends to transact and manage matters as they arose (ἕκαστα) for him with you (especially in the assembly), as for instance himself (the speaker).' It seems better to take the last words in this way, as Sh. does, than as K. 'just as he would himself,' which, I think, is rendered more than improbable by δή 'scilicet.' Ps. D. 7. 5 παρακρουσθῆναι ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴεται ὑπὸ τῶν τάνταῦθα διοικήσειν ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖνος βούληται καὶ πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων καὶ νῦν δὲ πραττόντων.

κἄνπερ...διαπράξεται] Madv. 132 b; 'and if this were only contrived for him he would easily accomplish with you all that he desired.'

§ 137. **ἀποτετυμπανισμένους**] 'had been summarily dealt with,' 'executed;' lit. 'had been cudgelled to death.' Bekk. *Anecd.* 458 τυμπάνοις ἀποκτεῖναι· τύμπανον δ' ἔστι ξύλον ὥσπερ σκύταλον· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἀνῄρουν τοὺς κατακρίτους, ὕστερον δ' ἔδοξε τῷ ξίφει. Dem. 8. 61

ησεν ἂν ταὐτὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ. τί δ' ἦν ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν; ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Τιμαγόρου καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς λέγεται, δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν τεθνεῶτα καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ὄντα κύριον αὐτῷ βεβαιῶσαι, μήτι γ' ἃ ἐκείνῳ τόθ' ὑπέσχετο πρᾶξαι, ἔγνω τὴν τιμὴν οὐχὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν πραγμάτων δεδωκώς. καὶ γάρ τοι πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν πάλιν ὑμετέραν δούλην κατέστησεν, ἣν τότε σύμμαχον αὑτοῦ καὶ φίλην ἔγραψεν· εἶτ' οὐδενὶ πώποτ'
38 ἔδωκε χρήματα τοῦ λοιποῦ. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἂν ἐποίησε Φίλιππος, εἴ τινα τούτων εἶδε δίκην δόντα, καὶ νῦν, ἂν ἴδῃ, ποιήσει. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀκούῃ λέγοντας, εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν,

μισεῖν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι: 9. 61.

τῷ βασιλεῖ] Bekk. st., Vöm., Dind., Sh., who in his first edition had τῷ in brackets. The MSS. and editions of the Orators show great inconsistency on this point. Andoc. 1. 107 τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ βασιλέως (Bekk. conj. τήν): ib. 3. 29 τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ β. (Bekk. conj. τῷ). Bekk. has the article in Isocrates 4. 147: 5. 89, 91, 105 al. S has the article in Dem. 14. 2 and 6: Ps. D. 10. 52: 15. 9 and 23: but omits it in 14. 3 and 4: Ps. D. 10. 52. In Ps. D. 10. 30 and 23. 200 Bekker has τῷ βασίλει. Madv. 8. r. 2. 6. It might easily arise here from the preceding τό.

Τιμαγόρου] supr. § 31.

τεθνεῶτα] 'had been put to death,' as infr. 281 τέθνηκεν.

βεβαιῶσαι] an epexegetical infinitive, Madv. 153: 'had no authority even over his own life to confirm it to himself;' 'had not the power even to secure his own safety,' much less to perform the promises he had lately made. Thuc. 5. 13 ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι: Dem. 23. 69 ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν οἱ νόμοι κύριοι κολάσαι: ib. 209 τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν φόρων γενομένῳ τᾶξαι Ἀριστειδῇ.

μήτι γ'] cf. 2. 23 *note*.

τὴν τιμήν] 'his hire.'

κατέστησεν] vulg. Bekk. st., Sh.; κατέπεμψεν S., Vöm., Dind., who uncritically brackets δούλην which is beyond suspicion. Vöm. tr. 'misit vobis A. ut vestram iterum servam,' comparing Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 30 ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην κατέπεμψεν. But 'to send down peace' is intelligible, 'to send down a city as subject to another' not so. The passage seems perfectly clear. If Ae. were summarily dealt with we should put an end to these arrogant pretensions on the part of Philip as we did to those of the great king. On the strength of the promises of T. he ventured to claim Amphipolis as his friend and ally; but when he heard of his execution he lowered his tone and amending his rescript entered Amphipolis again as your vassal: cf. infr. 253; Grote 10. 401. Δουλήν is evidently meant to be understood as the word used by the king. An enemy might have spoken of A. as the δουλή of Athens (and did so Thuc. 5. 9), but an Athenian εὐλαβούμενος φθόνον would at most have called it ὑπήκοον. On δουλήν cf. *n.* to 2. 8: Böckh *Publ. Econ.* Bk. 3. c. 16. Tr. 'For in the first place he made A. again your vassal which before (in his rescript dictated by Pelopidas, Grote 10. 382) he set down as his own ally and friend.'

τοῦ λοιποῦ] a partitive genitive, Madv. 66: 'he never afterwards gave money to any one.'

§ 138.] Vömel takes **λέγοντας** with **εὐδοκιμοῦντας**, 'enjoying repute as speakers' (§ 23): Bekk. st. and

ἑτέρους κρίνοντας, τί καὶ ποιήσῃ; ζητῇ πόλλ' ἀναλίσκειν, 384
ἐξὸν ἐλάττω, καὶ πάντας θεραπεύειν βούληται, δύ' ἢ τρεῖς
ἐξόν; μαίνοιτο μέντ' ἄν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλιν
εἵλετο δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖν ὁ Φίλιππος εὖ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ,
139 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπείσθη. ὃν δὲ τρόπον, φράσω
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγώ. ἦλθον ὡς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐκ Θηβῶν, ὅτε
περ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἡμεῖς ἦμεν ἐκεῖ. τούτοις χρήματ' ἐκεῖνος
ἐβούλετο δοῦναι, καὶ πάνυ γε, ὡς ἔφασαν, πολλά. οὐκ
ἐδέξαντο οὐδ' ἔλαβον ταῦτα οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις. μετὰ
ταῦτα ἐν θυσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ δείπνῳ πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπευ-
όμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλά, οἷον
αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ

Sh. with better judgment put a comma after λέγοντας, as there is clearly a climax; 'that they take part in your deliberations [and not only so, but] are held in high esteem among you [and instead of being punished, themselves] bring others (Timarchus) to trial.'

λέγοντας] = πολιτευομένους: cf. 1. 28 τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἵν' αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων αὐτοῖς εὔθυναι ῥᾴδιαι γένωνται: 21. 189, 200, 205; infr. 184 ἐν λόγοις ἡ πολιτεία.

τί καὶ ποιήσῃ] 'when he hears all this, what *should* he do? Should he seek...,' καί being best expressed by an emphasis. 24. 66 τί ποτε καὶ τολμήσει λέγειν: Plat. *Gorg.* 455 B ἴδωμεν, τί ποτε καὶ λέγομεν: *Phaed.* 61 E τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ ποιοῖ ἄλλο; The passage is noteworthy as a clear example of the conjunctive used interrogatively in the third person. Among other exx. Krüger (*Gr. Gr.* § 54. 2. 4) gives those out of the Orators, which are also quoted by Sh. Dem. 20. 117 καταδειχθῇ: 21. 35 πότερα μὴ δῷ διὰ ταῦτα δίκην: 22. 64 εἶτα ταῦθ' οὗτοι πεισθῶσιν...ποιεῖν, καὶ...ἀναδέξωνται: 29. 17 τί ποιήσωσιν: Dein. 1. 8 ποῖ...ἐλθὼν ὁ δῆμος...εὕρῃ. Madv. 121: Goodwin § 88.

οὐδὲ γάρ] The case of Thebes may perhaps be quoted against me; but that only proves what I say: 'for even the Thebans Philip did not wish to favour as a people: far from it.' (§ 104.) Cf. § 85.

§ 139. **ὃν τρόπον**] Madv. 31 d.

ὡς] supr. § 111.

ἐκ Θηβῶν] cf. § 76.

καὶ...γε] 'and according to their account a great deal too.'

ἐδέξαντο] 'accepted')(διεωθοῦντο below. Xen. *Cyrop.* 6. 1. 26 ταῦτα γὰρ...ἐδέχετο καὶ ἀπεωθεῖτο οὐδέν. In the following words Sh. thinks the accusatives ought undoubtedly to be taken with φιλανθρωπευόμενος. The addition of πίνων and the rhythm of the sentence seem to be decisive in favour of taking them with προὔπινεν = προπίνων ἐδωρεῖτο. Xen. *An.* 7. 3. 16 προπίνω σοι, Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι: *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 35 ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἐκπώματ' αὐτῷ, ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου, προὔπινε καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο; Waverley, ch. xx.: *n.* to 3. 22 προπέποται...τὰ πράγματα. Tr. 'as he was drinking and shewing them courtesy (playing the courteous host) P. offered them over the cup a number of other things such as captives and the like and at last some gold and silver cups.'

αἰχμάλωτα] more fully in 20. 77 αἰχμάλωτα σώματα. Lob. *Phryn.* p. 378.

χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς. πάντα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι διεωθοῦντο καὶ
140 οὐδαμῇ προίεντο ἑαυτούς. τελευτῶν δὲ Φίλων, εἷς τῶν πρέσβεων, εἶπεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγον οὐχ ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἄξιον εἰρῆσθαι. ἔφη γὰρ τὸν Φίλιππον ὁρῶν μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἥδεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν· αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ φίλοι καὶ ξένοι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν δώρων τούτων, εἰς δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, ἐν οἷς ἦν τότε, τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ταύτην προσθέντα ἄξιόν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων πρᾶξαι, καὶ ὅλην τε τὴν πόλιν οὕτω καὶ σφεῖς ὡμολόγουν
141 ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ. καὶ γάρ τοι σκέψασθε τί τοῖς Θηβαίοις γέγονεν ἐκ τούτων καὶ τί συμβέβηκε, καὶ θεάσασθε ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἡλίκον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως.

διεωθοῦντο] Observe the imperfect, 'they steadily refused all, and would in no way compromise themselves.' For **ἑαυτούς** with the middle infr. 169.

§ 140. **ἥδεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν** is one of the natural combinations of synonyms common to all languages. Cf. Lob. *Aj.* 145: *Paral. Graec.* p. 60 sq. 'He said he was delighted and rejoiced to see that P. was munificently and liberally disposed to them.'

μεγαλόψυχως] cf. infr. § 235. Its opposite is *μικροψυχία* in § 193. **ὑπάρχειν** depends on **ἔλεγε**, 'however they (he and his colleagues) for their part were his friends already even without those gifts.' **φίλος** and **ξένος** are often found together in the Orators merely to express 'the foreign friend.' **φίλος**, strictly, is the friend in the same city or within reach, with whom a man is in communication more or less close and constant; **ξένος** is the friend who belongs to another state, so separated that there can be no regular intercourse, but only occasional exchanges of hospitality and good offices in each other's country. K., on 18. 51, well compares, as illustrating the meaning of **ξένος**, *Winter's Tale*, Act 1, Sc. 1.

ὑπάρξειν] cf. § 54: 'but they begged him to apply that liberality to the affairs of their state on which he was then engaged and...they promised the whole state as well as themselves would then be devoted to him.' **σφεῖς** is in S and L alone of the MSS.; the rest have **σφᾶς**, which would have been correct, notwithstanding what Cobet says in his *Nov. L.* p. 237. Cf. Madv. 160. Thuc. 4. 69. 3 *ξυνέβησαν...ῥητοῦ μὲν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου ἀπολυθῆναι* as opposed to *τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις* which follows: Thuc. 8. 63 *ἐσκέψαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν... ἐᾶν...αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν... ὁρᾶν*: Pl. *Lys.* p. 209. D.; Dem. 44. 1 *αἴτιος μέν ἐστι...τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ νεώτερον ὄντα λέγειν ἐν ὑμῖν.* Pl. *Symp.* 175 *μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη σφᾶς μὲν δειπνεῖν, τὸν δὲ Σωκράτη οὐκ εἰσιέναι. τὸν οὖν Ἀγάθωνα... κελεύειν μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν Σωκράτη, ἔ δ' οὐκ ἐᾶν.*

§ 141. **ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας**] lit. 'in the case of the truth itself.' A Demosthenic phrase (18. 17, 22 *ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων*; 226, 294) which Aeschines seems to quiz in 3. 207. Madv. 73. 3. 'For only consider what have been the consequences, what the results of this to the Thebans, and behold in very truth (not in a theoretical case but one occurring in the actual course of events) how im-

πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνη γέγονεν αὐτοῖς πονοῦσι καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡττωμένοις, εἶτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν Φωκέων ἄρδην ὄλεθρος καὶ ὅλων τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀναίρεσις. ἆρα καὶ μόνα ταῦτα; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Ὀρχομενός, Κορώνεια, Κορσιαί, τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον, τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας ὁπόσην βούλονται. τοῖς μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εὔξαιντο δήπου μείζονα· τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Θηβαίων τί; οὐδὲν πλὴν τὸ τούτων αἰτίοις γεγενῆσθαι τῇ πατρίδι· τοῦτο δὲ καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον καὶ δόξης, ἣν οὗτοι χρημάτων ἀπέδοντο. ἀντιθῶμεν δή, τί τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλει γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τί τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ θεωρεῖτε εἰ παραπλήσια

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portant a thing it is not to sell the interests of one's country.'

πονοῦσι...] cf. infr. 148 where this is shown at length; 18. 19.

ἄρδην ὄλεθρος] 'the utter destruction of their enemies the Phocians and the demolition of their entire strongholds and cities.' For the absence of the article cf. Thuc. 1. 122 ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν 7. 81 οὐ ξυσταδὸν μάχαις ... ἐχρῶντο. When he alludes in his public speeches to the material advantages gained by the Thebans in Boeotia, he limits them to Koronea and Orchomenus (5. 21: 6. 13). His statement in § 112 agrees with this. What is said in § 127 πρὸς τῷ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἔχειν and Ps. D. 10. 64 τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδούς (ib. 67 τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε) must refer to the re-established supremacy of Thebes in Boeotia. The vague ὁπόσην βούλονται is in § 127 τῆς Φωκέων χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς γεγόνασι. Cf. Grote 11. 588.

§ 142. ἂν εὔξαιντο] 'greater than which I imagine they could not desire.' Bekk. st. reads εὔξαντο with S, with which comp. Xen. *Hell.* 4. 4, 12 ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἷον οὐδ' εὔξαντό ποτ' ἄν. Cf. § 329: Isocr. 4. 182 ἐξὸν ὑμῖν εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπράξασθαι: Isocr. 5. 118 περιβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς πράξεις, δυνατὰς μέν, εὐχῇ δ' ὁμοίας: Pl. *Rep.* 540 D. εὐχαῖς ὅμοια λέγοντες.

αἰτίοις] Madv. 158. Cf. 18. 128 τοῖς ...ἀπολειφθεῖσι...οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν: 24. 69 τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ λόγος ὑπολείπεται τὸ μὴ πονηροῖς εἶναι: 2. 23. What liberty the Greeks allowed themselves in such a case is well seen in Xen. *An.* 1. 2. 1 παραγγέλλει τῷ Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν...καὶ Ξενίᾳ...ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα.

εἰς...λόγον] 'is honourable, men of A., and glorious in regard to merit and reputation.' Sch. takes ἀρετὴ in the sense it bears in Thuc. 1. 33: 2. 45, i.e. of δόξα τῆς ἀρετῆς, 'honour,' 'glory,' 'praise,' so that the two words are pretty well synonymous. Cf. Thuc. 3. 46 ἐς χρημάτων λόγον: Lys. 19. 61 οὐ μόνον πρὸς δόξαν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς χρημάτων λόγον.

ἀντιθῶμεν δή] 'now let us contrast.' This is one of the antitheses against which Aeschines warned his hearers 2. 4 ψυχαγωγηθέντες τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις καὶ κακοηθέσι τούτοις ἀντιθέτοις. For other exx. cf. §§ 69, 89, 192 sq.

143 τῇ πόλει καὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς. τῇ πόλει μὲν τοίνυν ἀφεστη-
κέναι μὲν ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων,
ὀμωμοκέναι δὲ Φιλίππῳ, κἂν ἄλλος τις ἴῃ ποτ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ
βουλόμενος σώζειν, ὑμᾶς κωλύσειν καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑμῖν βου-
λόμενον παραδοῦναι ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσεσθαι καὶ πολέμιον, τὸν δὲ
144 ἀπεστερηκότα σύμμαχον καὶ φίλον. ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἃ
συνεῖπε μὲν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί, ἔγραψε δ' ὁ τούτου συνεργὸς
Φιλοκράτης· καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐμοῦ τὴν προτέραν ἡμέραν, καὶ
πεπεικότος ὑμᾶς τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα κυρῶσαι καὶ κα-
λέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐκκρούσας οὗτος
εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν Φιλοκράτους γνώμην ἔπεισεν ἑλέσθαι,
ἐν ᾗ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλ' ἔτι τούτων δεινότερά ἐστι
145 γεγραμμένα. τῇ μὲν δὴ πόλει ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν,
ὧν οὐδ' εὑρεῖν αἰσχίω ῥᾴδιον· τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσι τί τοῖς ταῦτα 386
πράξασιν; τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ πάνθ', ὅσα ἑωράκαθ' ὑμεῖς,
οἰκίας, ξύλα, πυρούς· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμμάχων

§ 143. **ἀφεστηκέναι**] sc. *γέγονεν*; 'to Athens then the result has been that she has relinquished...:' cf. § 146.

κτημάτων] i. e. all they had lost in the course of the war, the peace having been concluded on the basis of 'uti possidetis,' especially Amphipolis (infr. 253: Ps. D. 7. 29), and Potidaea (6. 20 *τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλών*).

β. σώζειν] 'with the object of recovering them:' *n.* to § 6.

§ 144. **ἃ συνεῖπε**] 'these are the terms which Ae. supported.' We should have expected *οἷς* and so Dobree proposed to read. But the acc. depends rather on *ἔγραψε*; the relation of the clauses being *ἃ Φ. ἔγραψε συνειπόντος Αἰσχίνου*. So infr. § 291. Exx. are not uncommon of the substantive or pronoun being governed by the remoter verb, Lys. 6. 33 *ἐπιτιμᾷ καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζει τῶν ἀρχόντων τισί*: Andoc. 1. 67 *ἠναντιώθην καὶ ἀντεῖπον καὶ ἐλοιδόρησα ἐκείνῳ*, where the dat. depends on *ἀντεῖπον*, as *λοιδορῶ* takes an acc. Dem. 21. 208 *ἐξαιτήσεσθαι καὶ λιπαρήσειν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτόν*. Cf. Lob. *Aj.* 475.

τὸ...δόγμα] 'and when I prevailed on the first day and had persuaded you to confirm the resolution of the allies, Ae. pushed the matter off to the following day:' cf. § 14 sq. Sch. tr. *τὸ τῶν σ. δόγμα* 'decretum de sociis,' as in the familiar exx. *τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων... δόγματα* 18. 140, 'the decrees of the Amphictyons about the A.': Thuc. 1. 140: Dem. 20. 115 *καὶ τούτων ψήφισμ' ἐστὶν Ἀλκιβιάδου*: infr. 234 *τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης πρεσβείας προβούλευμα*. But though this tr. might thus stand in point of Greek, a reference to § 15 shows it to be wrong.

καλέσαι] 'to summon,' i. e. to receive your answer.

§ 145. **τῇ μὲν δὴ π.** repeating § 143 in.

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα...ἀλλ'] 'I say nothing of all the other matters...but...' Cf. *n.* to 182.

ἑωράκαθ'] i. e. in the case of Philocrates § 114.

χώρᾳ κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμπληθεῖς, Φιλοκράτει μὲν τάλαντον ἔχουσαι πρόσοδον, τούτῳ δ' Αἰσχίνῃ τριάκοντα
146 μνᾶς. καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχέτλιον τὰς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσόδους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην τῇ μὲν ἐκπεμψάσῃ πόλει τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὄλεθρον τῶν δὲ κτημάτων ἀπόστασιν, ἀντὶ δὲ δόξης αἰσχύνην γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξασι προσόδους, εὐπορίας, κτήματα, πλοῦτον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀπορίων εἰργάσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους μάρτυρας.

κτήματα] in contrast with the state which had to relinquish hers they had gained *κτήματα*.

ἔχουσαι] 'carrying with them,' 'estates and farms bringing in to Ph. an income of a talent;' 36. 11 *ἡ δ' ἐργασία προσόδους ἔχουσα ἐπικινδύνους* 'while the bank is a business that yields a precarious income.' He repeats the charge against Aeschines infr. 314. In 18. 41 Ae. is said to have received grants of land in Boeotia *τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων*: but this is an insinuation that he had been so rewarded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes.

§ 146. **προσόδους**] 'But is it not dreadful and shocking that the calamities of your allies have become sources of revenue to your envoys?' 45. 70 *τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συμφορὰς καὶ χρείας εὐτυχήματα σαυτοῦ νομίζων*: 1. 24 *note*. Vöm. omits *μέν* before *συμμάχων* with S which very often leaves out *μέν*, as e. g. after *πάντες* in 6. 11: ib. 12 in *ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ*: 8. 34 in *ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις...ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι*: ib. 67 in *τῇ μὲν τῶν ὠνίων...τῇ δ' ὧν προσῆκε*: 9. 2 in. *ἡ μὲν πόλις...Φιλίππῳ δ' ἔξεσται*: ib. 33 in *εὐχόμενοι μὲν... κωλύειν δέ*...and elsewhere. The articulation of the passage requires it. Clearly *τῇ μὲν πόλει* answers to *τῶν δὲ πρεσβέων*, while *τῶν μὲν σ.* and *τῶν δὲ κτημάτων* correspond. Tr. 'that the same peace has, to the state which sent them out, proved the destruction of allies and the cession of possessions: while to those of the A. who brought all this about to the detriment of the Commonwealth it has produced revenues, resources, possessions, wealth, in place of extreme indigence.' Cf. Cornificius 4. 44. 58 (Kayser).

ἀπόστασιν] supr. 143: 1. 15 *τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν*.

προσόδους] The words fall into two pairs: cf. 208 *note*.

ἀπορίων] This is a charge so constantly made against public men, that without further evidence it can only be regarded as a piece of rhetorical invective, in many passages merely thrown in to point a contrast. Cf. *n.* to 3. 29 *οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν*: 23. 209 *ἐκ πτωχῶν εὔποροι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι* in contrast with the decaying fortunes of the state.

ὅτι] 'to prove that;' more fully expressed below § 254: 18, 118, 305: 20. 127 *ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ταῦτα ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, λαβέ μοι*... Madv. 192 b. r. It is possible that the Olynthian witnesses were brought forward, not to speak about what they had seen in Phocis, but to depose to what had been done in their own country or neighbourhood, if we

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

147 Οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσει λέγειν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν καλὴν οὐδ' οἵαν ἠξίουν ἐγὼ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι κακῶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν κεχρημένων. ἂν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ, πρὸς θεῶν ἐρωτήσατ' αὐτὸν μεμνημένοι, πότερον ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὸς ᾤχετο πρεσβεύων πόλεως ἢ ταύτης αὐτῆς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἑτέρας, ἣν κεκρατηκέναι τε τῷ πολέμῳ φήσει καὶ χρηστοὺς ἔχειν στρατηγούς, εἰκότως χρήματ' εἴληφεν· εἰ δ' ἐκ ταύτης αὐτῆς, τίνος ἕνεκ', ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πέμψασα πόλις τῶν αὐτῆς ἀπέστη, ἐπὶ τούτοις οὗτος δωρεὰς προσλαβὼν φαίνεται; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔδει τήν τε πέμψασαν 387 πόλιν τυγχάνειν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης πρέσβεις, εἴπερ τι
148 τῶν δικαίων ἐγίγνετο. ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. πότερ' οἴεσθε πλέον Φωκέας Θηβαίων ἢ

could believe the Schol. on Aesch. 1. 3 καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν ἀγρὸν ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἐν Πιέδνῃ τῆς Μακεδονίας.. If so, ἐν τῇ τῶν σ. χώρᾳ § 115 would have to be understood with some latitude.

§§ 147—150. *Perhaps he will say that the misconduct of the Generals made it impossible to negotiate an honorable peace. If so, why did he take bribes from Philip, or why should her envoys fare better than the state? And how comes it to pass that the Thebans, though the Phocians had gained much greater advantages over them than Philip over us, benefited, and we lost so much, by the Peace?*

Compare 28. 37 οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ δακρύειν καὶ ἐλεεινοὺς αὑτοὺς πειρῶντο ποιεῖν.

καλήν] L, Bekk. st., Dind.: καλὴ S, vulg., Sh. (3rd ed.), Vöm., i. e. οὐκ ἦν καλὴ εἰρήνη ποιήσασθαι: 'there was not an honourable peace for us to make, nor on such terms as I wished us to conclude the peace.' The construction is common enough. They quote Thuc. 7. 71 ἦν...ταῦτα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή: Thuc. 6. 22 πολλὴ γὰρ οὖσα οὐ πάσης ἔσται πόλεως ὑποδέξασθαι. These exx. would have been pertinent if the substantive here had been in the first clause or the article had been omitted. As it is, this reading seems to me to introduce a mere prettiness wholly unlike the passages quoted. I therefore with Bekk. st., Dind., and Sh. (1st ed.), read καλήν: 'it was not possible to conclude an honourable peace, or such a peace as I desired.'

τῷ π. ...κεχρημένων] 'had conducted the war:' 4. 39.

εἰκότως...] 'with good reason he has taken money (from Philip for his good offices in procuring him favorable terms from you). But if from this and no other, how is it that he is found to have taken presents besides for terms to obtain which the state that sent him gave up what belonged to her?' Assuming the corruption of Aeschines as proved, he argues that if he had been the envoy of a victorious state he might plausibly have taken money and benefited by his country's success: but if the case was as he says, that favourable terms could not be had, why did he separate his own interests from those of the state and take money when it was suffering loss?

§ 148. πλέον ... κρατεῖν] 'were prevailing more in the war, the Pho-

Φίλιππον ὑμῶν κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι Φωκεῖς Θηβαίων. εἶχόν γε Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Νέωσιν ἀπειλήφεσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἀπεκτόνεσαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡδυλείῳ, καὶ τρόπαιον εἱστήκει, καὶ ἱπποκράτουν, καὶ κακῶν
149 Ἰλιὰς περιειστήκει Θηβαίους. ὑμῖν δὲ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἦν μήτε γένοιτο τοῦ λοιποῦ, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ δεινότατον τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου· οὐκ ἐδύνασθε κακῶς, ἡνίκα ἐβούλεσθε, ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνον. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἤγετε. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς εἰρήνης τοῖς μὲν

cians over the Thebans or Philip over us?'

ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ] 'for my part I,' '*I* feel quite sure,' *μέν* with its hinted contrast being pretty nearly = *γε quidem* (*n.* to 3. 8: supr. 66), so that we have 20. 39 *ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ*: 16. 13 *ἔγωγε οὐχ ὁρῶ*: 20. 86, as equivalents to the expression used here.

εἶχόν γ'] S, Bekk. st., Sh. The other MSS. have *μέν γάρ, μέν γε* or *γάρ*. Cf. 18. 93 (where S. has *μέν γάρ*): 22. 1: 24. 106: Thuc. 1. 40. 'Quum quis uno argumento vel exemplo aliquid probat, potest hoc ut sufficiens afferre, quod fit particulâ *γάρ*: potest etiam significare plura quidem posse desiderari, sed hoc unum satis grave esse, quod fit addito *γε certe, saltem*.' Buttm. *Mid.* § 21. Orchomenus and Koronea were taken by the Phocians B.C. 354--3 and restored to the Thebans at the end of the war (6. 13). The treatment of these unhappy towns by their remorseless enemy caused great indignation throughout Greece. 5. 21 *νυνὶ γὰρ Θηβαίοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι πέπρακταί τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἴσχιστα*: 20. 109.

τὸ Τιλφασσαῖον] Harpocr. s. v. *ὅρος ἐστὶ μικρὸν ἄπεχον τῆς λίμνης τῆς Κοπαΐδος, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς.*

ἀπειλήφεσαν] 'they had cut off their (the Theban) troops at Neones.' Thuc. 1. 134 *ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἶσω.* There was also a form *Νέων*. Herod. 8. 32 *κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν.*

τῷ Ἡδυλείῳ] Harpocr. s. v. *ὅρος ἐστὶν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ...ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ κέ φησίν.* Isocr. alludes in general terms to these reverses in 5. 55 sq.

κακῶν Ἰλιάς] Sh. quotes Cic. *ad Attic.* 8. 11 'tanta malorum impendet Ilias,' and remarks that Demosthenes, so far as we know, was the first to use the phrase. Cf. Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 736 (Lorenz) 'Verum ubi dies decem continuos sit, east odiorum Ilias,' an expression obviously borrowed from the Greek original.

§ 149. **οὔτ' ἦν**] 'But no such thing had happened to you and I trust it never will.' So 8. 51: Ps. D. 10. 27: 21. 209 *ὃ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται*: Ps. D. 25. 75 *οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι μηδὲ γένοιτο*: ib. 86.

οὐκ ἐδύνασθε] This is inconsistent with what he says in § 153.

τοῦ μὴ...ἄδειαν] 'You were enjoying perfect security against being damaged yourselves.' Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 4. 13 *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι τοῦ μή αὐτός γε ὑποχείριος γενέσθαι*: Dem. 22. 42: 24. 31 *ἄδειαν τοῦ μή τι παθεῖν ἀηδές.* Madv. 156 r. 3. This construction must be carefully distinguished from that of *ἄδεια* in an affirmative sense. Madv. l. c. r. 1: supr. 87 *ἐξουσία... ποιῆσαι note.*

τί ποτ'] a summary repetition of the antithesis in § 141 sq.: 'how comes it then that as a result of the same peace the Th. have both reco-

Θηβαίοις, τοῖς τοσοῦτο κρατουμένοις τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προσλαβεῖν γέγονε, τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ὑμῖν, καὶ ἃ τῷ πολέμῳ διεσώζετο, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολωλεκέναι; ὅτι τἀκείνων μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδοσθ' οἱ πρέσβεις, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα οὗτοι πεπράκασιν. ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτω πέπρακται, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴσεσθε.

50 *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη τέλος εἶχεν αὕτη ἡ τοῦ Φιλοκράτους, ᾗ συνεῖπεν οὗτος, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπῄρκεσαν οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου λαβόντες τοὺς ὅρκους (καὶ μέχρι τούτου γε* 388 *οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἦν τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀναξία τῆς πόλεως, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων δὴ τὰ θαυμάσια ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι), ἠξίουν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ καὶ*

vered their own possessions and received those of their enemies besides, while you the Athenians have lost in the peace even what was preserved in the war:' supr. § 97. The omission of *ἐν* with *τῷ π.* must be noted. Cf. Madv. 45 a. Thuc. 1. 128 *τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ*: 2. 57: 3. 54 *μάχῃ ...παρεγενόμεθα ὑμῖν*. Cf. supr. 13 *τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*: Thuc. 1. 44. After *πεπράκασιν* Bekk. st. and Dind. omit the sentence *ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπειρηκέναι φησὶ τῷ πολέμῳ*, though it is found in all the MSS. Vöm., after H. Wolf and Spengel, supposes that the answer to Aeschines' objection has dropped out and accordingly marks a lacuna. But *ὅτι γάρ...* so naturally follows *ὅτι...πεπράκασιν, ταῦθ' οὕτω πέπρακται* being in effect = *πεπράκασιν*, that we ought more probably to regard it as a marginal note, made perhaps in reference to Aeschines' argument in 2. 70 sq., which afterwards crept into the text.

§§ 150—157. *That they sold your interests is clear from the difficulty I had in getting them to go to swear Philip to the peace, notwithstanding the obvious importance of doing so at once. And when at last, by getting a special decree passed, I compelled them to set out, they loitered on the way, and then, in spite of all I could do or say, remained at Pella till Philip had completed his conquests in Thrace.*

τέλος εἶχε] 'was concluded:' 24. 73 *περὶ δ' ὧν δικαστήριον ἔγνωκε καὶ τέλος ἔσχηκε*: Isocr. 4. 5 *τὰ πράγματα τέλος λάβῃ*: supr. § 125.

λαβόντες] 'had received the oaths' from the Athenian authorities.

ἀνήκεστον] supr. 101; 'and up to this time at least no irreparable mischief had been done, but though (*μέν*) ... still to make up for this (*τούτων* referring generally to what is involved in the words immediately preceding; cf. 2. 2) forsooth those wonderful advantages were to come to us.' For *ἀντί* see § 91.

αἰσχρά] Cf. § 336; 5. 13; supr. 145. For Isocrates' opinion see § 88 *note*.

τὰ θαυμάσια] 'the wonderful advantages' we heard so much of; §§ 19, 87 &c.

ἠξίουν ὑμᾶς] Sch. tr. 'petebam a vobis veniam proficiscendi;' and so K., 'I asked your leave.' Sh. says 'I called upon you (and told them) to sail:' but this is intolerably harsh. Dem. says, 'feeling the importance of despatch I *ἠξίουν ὑμᾶς*...; when they did not fulfil the order they had received but delayed from

τούτοις ἔλεγον πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἐᾶσαι κατασχεῖν Φίλιππον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ
151 μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ χωρίων. ᾔδειν γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν ἐκ πολέμου γιγνομένης εἰρήνης προεθῇ, ταῦτα τοῖς ἀμελήσασιν ἀπόλλυται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων πεισθεὶς εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησε πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' οἱ προλαβόντες ἔχουσιν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δυοῖν χρησίμοιν οὐ διαμαρτήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἡγούμην πλευσάντων ἡμῶν· ἢ γὰρ παρόντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμ' αὐτὸν ἐξορκωσάντων, ἃ μὲν εἰ-
152 λήφει τῆς πόλεως ἀποδώσειν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀφέξεσθαι, ἢ

day to day (infr. § 154), as no assembly could be had, I got a decree passed in the council which they were compelled to obey.' The matter which he called on the people about was not πλεῖν simply, but τούτους πλεῖν. Tr. 'I made an appeal to you and told these men to sail.' Ae. admits the decree of the council passed on the 3rd of Munychion (2. 91) eight days after the Athenians had taken the oaths to Antipater, but says nothing of its being proposed by Dem., and seems to imply that they had not previously had any order to set out.

κατασχεῖν] an *effective* aorist: 'not to sacrifice or allow Ph. to secure any of the towns there in the interval.' The verb and tense are especially used of victors &c. establishing themselves in possession of a place or thing. This is clearly marked in Thuc. 6. 11, quoted by Sh. Cf. 18. 60 προύλαβε καὶ κάτεσχε Φίλιππος: 23. 110 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ λάβοι καὶ κατάσχοι λυσιτελήσειν αὐτῷ 'should take and establish himself in it:' Ps. D. 10. 14.

§ 151. ᾔδειν] 'For I knew perfectly well that whatever has been sacrificed, when peace is being made after war (§ 133) is lost to those so neglecting it, for no one when once induced to conclude peace for the general weal was ever willing to go to war afresh for what has been abandoned, but that remains in the possession of the captors.' τῶν ὅλων 'their main interests;' 22. 16 τὴν τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν: 1. 3 *note*. This in 18. 26 he represents, in agreement with his argument there, as the thought of Philip. Compare the conclusion of the speech 'de Pace.'

δυοῖν...οὐ δ.] 'would not miss two advantages,' i. e. 'would gain one of two advantages,' οὐ being *privative; n.* to 3. 1. This Thuc. 4. 28 expresses affirmatively by δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν τοῦ ἑτέρου τεύξεσθαι. Cf. Thuc. 1. 33; Soph. *El.* 1320 ὡς ἐγὼ μόνη οὐκ ἂν δυοῖν ἥμαρτον· ἢ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔσωσ' ἐμαυτὴν ἢ καλῶς ἀπωλόμην: Andoc. 1. 20 ἐν ᾧ δυοῖν τοῖν μεγίστοιν κακοῖν οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἁμαρτεῖν. Cf. Thuc. 1. 122 οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται. ἃ goes with τῆς πόλεως as a possessive genitive; 'the places belonging to the city he had taken.' The towns meant by τῶν λοιπῶν he enumerates in 18. 27. Cf. also 8. 64; 9. 15; Ps. D. 7. 37.

§ 152. Observe ὥστ' οὐ with the infinitive, which is naturally by no means uncommon after verbs of *thinking* and the like, which have οὐ with the inf. oftener than μή (Madv. 205), and in *or. obl.*, where it represents an ὥστε οὐ with the indicative. Cf. infr. 308: Lys. 10. 15 ὑμᾶς μὲν... εἰδέναι ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὀρθῶς λέγω, τοῦτον δὲ οὕτω σκαιὸν εἶναι

μὴ ποιοῦντος ταῦτα ἀπαγγελεῖν ἡμᾶς εὐθέως δεῦρο, ὥστ' ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττοσι τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἰδόντας ὑμᾶς περὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ μειζόνων, λέγω δὲ Φωκέων καὶ Πυλῶν, οὐ προήσεσθαι· μὴ προλαβόντος δ' ἐκείνου ταῦτα μηδ' ὑμῶν ἐξαπατηθέντων ἅπαντ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ παρ' ἑκόντος ὑπάρ-
53 ξειν αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως οὕτως ὑπελάμβανον ἕξειν. εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἦσαν τότε, Φωκεῖς σῷοι καὶ Πύλας εἶχον, ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν, δι' ὃ τῶν δικαίων ἄν τι παρείδετε· οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρ- 389
ελθὼν οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἥξειν ἔμελλεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκείνου παραχρῆμα, εἰ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιοίη, κλείσειν

ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι μαθεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα (= ὥστ' οὐ δύναται); Lys. 18. 6; 21. 18 καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖν με ἀπολογήσασθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Isae. 3. 39; 11. 27; Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 3; Xen. *Mem.* 4. 8. 1; *Hell.* 6. 2. 6; Dem. 18. 283; 9. 48. Passages however occur which cannot be brought under either head; Eur. *Phoen.* 1357; Soph. *El.* 780; Eur. *Hel.* 108. Cf. Sh.'s learned appendix; Madv. l. c.; Don. *Gr. Gr.* p. 594. Tr. 'so that you seeing his rapacity and faithlessness in those distant and less important matters would not be careless in regard to those that were nearer to you and more important, I mean Phocis and Pylae:' lit. 'in regard to ... would not neglect them.'

λέγω δέ] 1. 27; 9. 70; Madv. 19. r. 4. Dem. does not here mention the reason he puts prominently forward in 18. 26 as influencing him, ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου.

ὑπάρξειν] 'and your rights (just demands) granted you by him without demur:' 6. 36.

§ 153. **σῷοι**] supr. 58.

ἀνατείνασθαι] 'Philip would not be able to hold out any menace that could make you forego any of your rights.' The metaphor is from a threatening raising up of the hand or a stick. Comp. Thuc. 5. 17 παρασκευὴ ... προεπανεσείσθη ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: Ps. D. 25. 47 τὴν ... εἰσαγγελίαν ἀνασείσας: Dem. 6. 8 οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδέξαιτο, of holding out a bait.

κατὰ γῆν] Compare what he says in §§ 83 and 180, and the very similar language in 6. 35 sq. On παρελθών cf. § 63 *note:* 'for neither by a landmarch through the straits nor by a victory at sea could he get to Attica.' For ποιοίη Bekk. st. has ποιοῖ from S *pr. m*: but according to Vöm. 'antiq. manus addidit η;' and this is the regular form in Dem. Cf. 18. 21 δοκοίη: ib. 27 ἐπιχειροίη: ib. 293 ἀδικοίην: 22. 28 ἀξιοίη: 14. 40 κινοίη.

κλείσειν...] 'if he refused to give you your rights, would close his commercial ports and reduce him again to a want of money and generally to a state of blockade;' lit. 'in regard to all other matters.' This is a mere flourish. At an earlier period the Athenians may have interfered with Philip's commerce, but this had for some time ceased to be the case (§ 149), and they had themselves suffered severely (4. 34; Grote 11. 424). The blockade of his harbours mentioned below § 315 has nothing to do with the Athenians, but is merely a rhetorical way of

τὰ ἐμπόρια, καὶ χρημάτων τ' ἐν σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ δουλεύσων ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης λυσιτελοῦσιν, οὐχ
154 ὑμεῖς. καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι νῦν πλάττομαι καὶ προσποιοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐγνώκειν καὶ προεωρώμην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τούτοις ἔλεγον, ἐκεῖθεν εἴσεσθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκκλησία μὲν οὐκέτ' ἦν ὑπόλοιπος οὐδεμία διὰ τὸ προκατακεχρῆσθαι, οὗτοι δ' οὐκ ἀπῄεσαν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ διέτριβον, γράφω ψήφισμα βουλεύων, τὴν βουλὴν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν, ἀπιέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις τὴν ταχίστην, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Πρόξενον κομίζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνηται, γράψας ὥσπερ νῦν λέγω, τοῖς ῥήμασιν οὕτως ἄντικρυς. καί μοι λέγε τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

155 Ἐνθένδε μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον οὕτως ἄκοντας, ὡς

expressing that Philip was annoyed by the corsairs from Halonnesus and the neighbouring islets. Ps. D. 7. 2. sq.

ὁ δουλεύσων] 'the one who would be dependent on:' infr. 210 δοῦλος ὢν τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων.

τοῖς ἀπό] as § 92 τἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθά.

§ 154. **ἐπὶ τοῖς σ.**] 'after the event;' the preposition expressing immediate sequence in time or place. Herod 1. 170 γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, which is followed by χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θαλέω ... ἐγένετο: Xen. *An.* 7. 6. 40 ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος: *Hell.* 4. 4. 9 τὴν... ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν.

προσποιοῦμαι] 'claiming credit for:' supr. 46. Comp. what he says in 5. 11. ἐκεῖθεν refers to what follows; 'but that I perceived and foresaw them in your behalf at the very time you will see from this.' προκατακεχρῆσθαι may be either passive or middle, 'owing to their having been already used up,' or, 'your having used them up.' Veitch, *Gr. Verbs* p. 605, takes it in the passive sense, and he is probably right. ἀπῄεσαν S. L. and all the MSS.; ἀπῆσαν Dind., Vöm. Cf. Veitch p. 199.

βουλεύων] 'as member of the council.' Twelve years afterwards Aesch. (3. 62) had discovered that Dem. had become a member οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει.

κυρίαν] 'put the matter into the hands of,' 'given the C. full power.' *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. βουλή. In his account of the matter in 18. 25 Dem. omits the words τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Π. αὐτούς.

οὕτως] δεικτικῶς, ἄντικρυς being in strictness explanatory; supr. § 36. Comp. the Lat. 'sic,' Hor. 2 *Carm.* 11. 14; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 847 'ibi erat bilibris aula sic propter cados:' ib. 1012 'sic frustra.' Tr. 'to whatever places he should hear P. to be in, having drawn it as I now tell you just expressly in the words,' 'in those express terms.'

§ 155. **οὕτως** may be taken as just above, 'full sorely against their wills,' as Taylor well tr. the words.

καθαρῶς οἷς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν εἴσεσθε· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς Ὠρεὸν καὶ συνεμίξαμεν τῷ Προξένῳ, ἀμελήσαντες οὗτοι τοῦ πλεῖν καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα πράττειν ἐπορεύοντο κύκλῳ, καὶ πρὶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθεῖν τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀνηλώσαμεν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πάσας καθήμεθ' ἐν Πέλλῃ πρὶν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν, σὺν αἷς ἐπορεύθημεν ὁμοῦ πεντήκοντ' 390
6 ὅλας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δορίσκον, Θρᾴκην, τὰ ἐπὶ τειχῶν, Ἱερὸν

Bekk. st. and Vöm. put a comma after οὕτως, understanding it in reference to ψήφισμα: 'I succeeded by this means...' I prefer the other view. Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 176 E μὴ διὰ μέθης ποιήσασθαι...τὴν συνουσίαν, ἀλλ' οὕτω πίνοντας πρὸς ἡδονήν: infr. 197.

καθαρῶς] 'clearly:' 32. 21 εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, οὗ ταῦτα ἦν ἐλέγξαι καθαρῶς: 57. 67; infr. 263.

ἃ....τοῦ πλεῖν] Madv. 156 r. 2.

ἐπορεύοντο κύκλῳ] 'made a circuitous journey by land.'

καθήμεθ'] Jul. Poll. 3. 89 καθήμεθα δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκαθήμεθα Δημοσθένης: infr. 166; 18. 30 καθῆντο: 18. 217 καθῆτο. Veitch s. v. 'We were loitering,' 'sitting down at Pella:' 2. 23; 4. 9. Aesch. 2. 89 makes Dem. charge him and his colleagues with stopping at Oreus; ἐκαθήμην ἐν Ὠρεῷ καὶ οἱ συμπρέσβεις προξενίας κατασκευαζόμενοι.

ἀνηλώσαμεν] Sh. and Bekk. st., who (except in two or three passages 1. 11; Ps. D. 50. 67) has the augmented forms throughout his edition. Cf. Veitch p. 62. ὁμοῦ (strictly the gen. of ὁμὸς = ὁ αὐτός. Cob. *Nov. L.* p. 99) 'about,' as infr. 230 ὁμοῦ...χιλίους ἱππέας: Ps. D. 25. 51 εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι 'there are altogether about.' Tr. 'making with those of our journey about 50 days altogether.' Some years afterwards Dem. could venture on stronger statements. In 18. 30 he says, οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θρᾴκης. The decree which directed the envoys to start at once and administer the oaths to Philip was not passed till the 3rd of Munychion, April 2 (Aesch. 2. 92), and some days after the conclusion of the peace, Dem. having in the mean time escorted the king's envoys as far as Thebes. If therefore the ambassadors were three months at Pella before Philip returned from Thrace, and spent 23 days, as he says here, in going and as many in returning, to which we must add the time they were bribed to stay, according to 18. 32, after the king's return in order that he might finish his preparations, they must have been away more than 5 months and could not have been back by the 13th of Skirophorion (June 10), on which day they reached Athens after an absence of 70 days. We have another striking ex. in §§ 199 sq. and 249 compared with 18. 129 sq. and 258, of the way in which descriptions grew fuller and more particular as the general knowledge of the facts grew less and refutation was consequently more difficult.

§ 156. **ἐν δὲ τούτῳ**] Cf. 18. §§ 27, 32 προλαβὼν τὴν Θρᾴκην. Aesch. (2. 90 sq.) in answer to this refers to a despatch of Chares as proving that Kersobleptes was ruined and the Sacred Mountain taken on the 25th of Elaphabolion, some days before the embassy left Athens. He further urges the frivolous plea that the decree did not direct them to go into Thrace (ib. § 98) but merely to take the oaths, and argues that if they had gone they could have done nothing as Kersobleptes was already ruined. But even if this were true, the length of time they had to wait

ὅρος, πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σπουδαῖς ᾔρει καὶ διῳκεῖθ' ὁ Φίλιππος, πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐμοῦ καὶ θρυλοῦντος ἀεί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἂν εἰς κοινὸν γνώμην ἀποφαινομένου,

before Philip returned shows that Dem.'s statements are not without foundation, and that much loss might have been prevented had they obeyed their instructions. Thirl. 5. 357; Grote 11. 559.

τὰ ἐπὶ τειχῶν] called in § 180 *τὰ τείχη*, 'the district of the castles,' the expression being similar to and suggested by the familiar *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*. At the Sacred Mountain (23. 104; '*κατὰ στόμα Πόντου ἐμπόριον· τόπος τῆς Ἀψινθίων χώρας ἐν Θρᾴκῃ*' Schol. on Aesch. 2. 90, therefore on the east of the Hebrus) and Serrhium he came into direct collision with the Athenians, 9. 15 *καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρίου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ Ὄρους ἐξέβαλλεν, οὗς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς* (Chares) *κατέστησε*, to support Kersobleptes. From this passage it would seem that Serrhium with the district eastward is what is meant by *τὰ τείχη*, as he nowhere else mentions the district of the castles, and except here always names Serrhium, 8. 64; 18. 27. 70; Ps. D. 7. 37. Herod. 7. 59 speaks of Serrhium (to the east of Doriscus, which is described as *τῆς Θρηκίης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα*, in which *τεῖχος...ἐδέδμητο βασιλήϊον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται*) as 'the well-known promontory,' now Cape Matri. Livy 3. 16 speaks of it and Doriscus as 'castella,' which would be important in a strategical point of view as commanding the road along the coast. Aesch. 3. 82 makes these places the subject of a foolish sneer *οὗτός ἐστιν...ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μύρτηνον καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον*. The capture of these fortified posts (summed up infr. 219 as *τάπὶ Θρᾴκης*; here *Θρᾴκην* apparently means the more inland parts subject to Kersobleptes) gave Philip the command of the coast from the Hebrus to the Propontis and enabled him to interfere with the Athenian corn trade. Cf. infr. 180.

πάντα τὰ πρ.] closing the enumeration, 'everything in short,' 'in a word everything.' Cf. note to § 208 *ἀποστρέφει*.

διῳκεῖθ'] 'was arranging, settling at his pleasure.' I do not think the word here can possibly imply a secret underhand mode of proceeding and collusion with the envoys, as Sh. seems to think. It merely means what in 1. 11 is expressed by *ὃν ἐβούλετο εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον*. Cf. 18. 247 *εἰ...τις ἔροιτο...τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ*; 18. 178.

θρυλοῦντος] 'though I was always talking about it and protesting:' 21. 160 *ταύτην γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι θρυλήσει*: 1. 7: 2. 6.

ὡς ἄν] A cryptic expression meaning 'as though;' *lit.* 'as one might or would do if,' *ἄν* referring to the suppressed verb, which is sometimes supplied, as in Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1. 14 *ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο*: Dem. 39. 22 *καὶ στέρξας ὡς ἂν υἱόν τις στέρξαι*. Madv. 139. c.: Buttm. *Ind. Mid.* s. v. *ὡς ἄν*. Cf. Dem. 23. 154 *ὡς ἂν πρὸς φίλον* 'looking on him as a friend:' 34. 32: 24. 79 *ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μάλιστά τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι...βουλόμενος* 'just as would be done by one who...;' 18. 197 where the vulg. introduces *ποιήσειε*: 54. 7 *διαλεχθείς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως ὡς ἂν μεθύων*: 21. 14 *κρότον τοιοῦτον ὡς ἂν ἐπαινοῦντες...ἐποιήσατε*. Tr. 'at first as if I were giving my opinion in consultation, then [when I found this was not enough, affecting to think they did not know how important it was that we should seek out Philip] as if I were instructing those who were ignorant, at last, as if I had to do with impious wretches who had sold

μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀγνοοῦντας διδάσκοντος, τελευτῶντος δὲ ὡς ἂν πρὸς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπους
57 οὐδὲν ὑποστελλομένου. ὁ δὲ τούτοις ἀντιλέγων φανερῶς καὶ ἅπασιν ἐναντιούμενος οἷς ἔλεγον μὲν ἐγώ, ἐψήφιστο δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὗτος ἦν. εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν, αὐτίκα εἴσεσθε· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν πω λέγω περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' αἰτιῶμαι, οὐδ' ἀναγκασθέντ' αὐτῶν οὐδένα δεῖ δοκεῖν χρηστὸν εἶναι τήμερον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ κεκοινωνηκέναι τῶν ἀδικημάτων. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οὐ προῖκα τὰ πεπραγμένα, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἑωράκατε. οἵτινες δ' οἱ τούτων μετασχηκότες, αὐτὰ δηλώσει.

58 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ἢ τἄλλ' ἃ προσῆκεν ἐποίησαν. πολ-

themselves without any reserve.' We should have expected ἂν in the second clause, which may easily have dropped out before ἀγνοοῦντας. But the Greeks did not always observe perfect symmetry in such cases. Cf. 18. 81 πολλὰ μὲν ἄν...πολλὰ δὲ... πολλὰ δέ: 9. 68 πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι...πόλλ' ἂν Ὠρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ...ἕκαστοι. For οὐδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος cf. infr. § 338; and n. to 1. 16; 4. 51.

§ 157. καὶ ἅπασιν] 'all,' καί being perpetually thus used with an *epitatic* force before πᾶς, πολύς, ἀμφότερος, πρότερον and λίαν. Thuc. 5. 71 στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο: infr. 192 καὶ πάντων: supr. 135 καὶ πρότερον: Her. 1. 52 τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα. Cf. Elmsl. on Eur. *Med.* 513 and 871.

ἐγὼ μέν...] 'For as yet I say nothing about any one nor make any charge nor is there any need for any of them to appear an honest man under compulsion but of his own choice and by not having been partaker in the crimes.' I accuse Ae. only, and force no one else to his defence. Whether any others are innocent you will soon see: they will not defend Ae. but come forward and disown all connection with him. αὐτά, Sh. with all the MSS. except S which has αὐτό, which is adopted by Bekk. st., Vöm., and Dind. This is doubtless a correction to bring it into accordance with the common phrases αὐτὸ δείξει, αὐτὸ σημανεῖ; cf. *n.* to 2. 20. This passage has no bearing on the question whether αὐτὰ δείξει is correct: for with αὐτὰ we must clearly understand τὰ πεπραγμένα: cf. infr. 167 τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτὰ δηλώσει: 'they will disclose of themselves;' a plain statement of facts will prove who are guilty, without my charging any one.

§§ 158—162. *Perhaps during the time we were in Macedonia they performed the duties for which they were sent. On the contrary, to suit Philip's convenience they did not administer the oaths to him and his allies till he had reached Pherae with his army.*

ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί'] a common form of *occupatio;* Lat. '*at enim.*' 6. 14 ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νὴ Δία: infr. 272, 285; 18. 117 νὴ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα: 20. 3. Cf. Aesch. 1. 109 ἀλλ' ἴσως καθ' αὑτὸν μὲν ἄρχων φαῦλος ἦν, μετὰ πλειόνων δ' ἐπιεικής: πόθεν; οὗτος...: Dem. 24. 176. 'But perhaps...,' 'but it may be said.'

λοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ χιλίας λαβόντες δραχμὰς ἐφόδιον παρ' ὑμῶν, παρ' οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως, οὔθ' ὅτε ἐκεῖσε ἐπορεύοντο οὔθ' ὅτ' ἐκεῖθεν δεῦρο, τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Διοσκουρείου (εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς Φερὰς ἀφῖκται, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω) ἐνταῦθ' ἐγίγνοντο οἱ ὅρκοι, ὅτε δεῦρ' ἤδη τὸ στράτευμ' ἄγων ἐβάδιζε Φίλιππος, αἰσχρῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀναξίως 391
159 ὑμῶν. καίτοι τοῦτο Φίλιππος ἁπάντων ἂν ἐτιμήσατο πλείστου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πραχθῆναι. τήν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην

τρεῖς μῆνας.] Cf. 57. The real time was 70 days; supr. *n.* to 155.

ἐφόδιον] 'as travelling expenses.' Taking three months as the time for their absence this would give them 1⅓ drach. a day. On the seventy days their pay would be a drachma and a half, nearly. The envoys in the *Acharnians* (v. 66) receive two drachmas a day; but that is meant to be above the usual pay. Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* bk. 2 ch. 16 *n.* 383, on the strength of the spurious decree in 18. 29, pronounces it evident that the ambassadors sent to take the oaths were only five in number. Dem. in this speech names five besides himself,—Aeschines, Philocrates, Phrynon, Dercylus, and Iatrocles,—a list, with the exception of Aeschines, entirely different from that of the decree; and Aeschines expressly says 2. 97 *δέκα πρεσβέων ὄντων, ἑνδεκάτου δὲ τοῦ συμπεμφθέντος ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων* (Aglaocreon of Tenedos Aesch. 2. 126)... *ὅτ' ἐξήειμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν πρεσβείαν.* The decree in 18. l. c. names Eubulus as one of the envoys. This should have been sufficient to put Böckh on his guard. It is absolutely certain that he was not one of them.

ἀφῖκται] inf. 225; 23. 182 *οἱ μὲν ἀφιγμένοι* 'those who have been there;' 'in the common inn opposite the temple of D.—if any one of you has been at Pherae he knows the place I mean—there the oaths were administered when Philip was now marching hither at the head of his army.' This, if true, was in violation of their instructions (§ 278), that they should administer the oaths to the authorities in each city of Philip's allies; whereas they accepted as such those Philip sent to them. Grote 11. 567. From 18. 32 we learn that the oaths were administered to Philip himself in Macedonia.

§ 159. **ἐτιμήσατο πλείστου**] 'Philip would have valued as above all price to have this managed in this way.' Cf. 1. 1 *ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν... χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἑλέσθαι νομίζω*: 18. 214; Thuc. 1. 33; 3. 40 *πρὸ παντὸς ἂν ἐτιμήσασθε αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι.*

τε γάρ] As there is no answering *τε* or *καί* and no change of construction, Sch. is quite right in saying 'absolute intelligi oportet, ut valeat i. q. *καὶ γάρ etenim.*' He quotes Arist. *Pol.* 7. 14 *τόν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν ἀρχθῆναί φασι δεῖν πρῶτον.* There are numerous exx. of this use in Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 8. 16. 1; *de Gen. An.* 1. c. 21 *καθόλου τε γὰρ ἐπισκοποῦσιν οὐ φαίνεται γιγνόμενον ἓν ἐκ τοῦ παθητικοῦ*: *Phys.* 1. 3; *Pol.* 1. c. 8 *τῶν τε γὰρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν ἀγελαῖα*...and elsewhere. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1015, where Herm. remarks 'nempe ut Latini *namque* dicunt. Illud *τε* non copulat, sed lenius affirmat quam *τοι*;' Thuc. 7. 81. Cf. Sh.'s excellent critical note on this passage. "For when they were not able to draw up the treaty of peace as these men attempted at first 'excepting the

οὐχὶ δυνηθέντων ὡς ἐπεχείρησαν οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἀλέων καὶ Φωκέων, γράψαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ταῦτα μὲν ἀπαλεῖψαι γράψαι δ' ἄντικρυς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους, οὐκ ἐβούλετο τοῦτον ὀμωμοκέναι τὸν ὅρκον οὐδένα τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων (οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ συστρατεύσειν ἐφ' ἃ νῦν ἔχει τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔμελλον, ἀλλ'
160 ἕξειν πρόφασιν τοὺς ὅρκους), οὐδὲ μάρτυρας γενέσθαι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐφ' αἷς εὑρίσκετο τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τοῦτο δειχθῆναι πᾶσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρ' ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἥττητο τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀλλὰ Φίλιππός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ὁ πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἂν τύχῃ τῆς εἰρήνης. ἵνα δὴ μὴ γένοιτο ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω φανερά, διὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμόσε ᾤετο δεῖν τούτους βαδίζειν. οὗτοι δ' ἐχαρίζοντο.

people of Halus and the Phocians,' but Ph. was compelled to expunge these words and to write expressly *the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians*, he did not wish...". Cf. Grote 11. 545. 'Some MSS. have the dat., which Sch. preferred, referring to §§ 56, 87, 310 to show that the dative was used in the treaty, not the accusative. This was undoubtedly so; but such variation is not uncommon; cf. 24, 82 quoted by Dobree, γράψας ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ τιμήματος τάργύριον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὁ ὤφλεν.

§ 160. οὔτε μάρτυρας libri, Vöm.; οὐδὲ Bekk. ex conj., Dind., Sh., which is necessary after οὐκ ἐβούλετο, unless we suppose οὔτε to have dropped out before τοῦτον.

ἐφ' αἷς εὑρίσκετο] As if concluding the peace was an act of grace on the part of Athens conceded in consideration of the king's promises. So 6. 12 τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν: ib. 28 τὰς ὑ. ἐφ' αἷς ἐπεισθῆτε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην: 18. 30. The truth of the matter is clear from 18. 26, and Aesch. 2. 36, where Dem. is represented as asking εἰ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πραγμάτων ἐπιλέλησμαι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταπεπονημένον καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς εἰρήνης εἰ μὴ μέμνημαι.

οὐκ ἄρ'] 'that after all Athens had not been beaten in the war, but it was P. who was desiring peace, P. who was making many promises if he could obtain peace.' Ἄρα 'as it now seems,' 'as the issue proves,' said by those who recognize that the fact is different from their previous notion of it. Don. *New Crat.* § 192. Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* p. 234, says 'rarius enim ἄρα praecedit verbum.' If he means that ἄρα oftener follows than precedes the verb he is probably right. But examples of its preceding the verb are numerous, the reason being that some other word is emphatic. Cf. Xen. *Oecon.* 1. § 20; 6. § 16; *An.* 7. 4. 13; *Cyrop.* 1. 3. 10 ὅτι τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἡ ἰσηγορία: ib. 1. 4. 11; Arist. *Av.* 280 ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἄρ' ἥσθ' ἔποψ: *Vesp.* 314; Pl. *Symp.* 198 E. τὸ δὲ ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν ὁτιοῦν: ib. οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πρᾶγμα: *Tim.* 51. C. τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πλὴν λόγος: Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1694; *Aj.* 180, 914. Cf. Heind. and Stallb. on Pl. *Phaed.* 68 B.; Stallb. on Pl. *Rep.* bk. 2. in.

οὐδαμόσε] 'he did not think it proper that they should go anywhere,' to administer the oaths to the authorities in the cities of his allies. Οὐ in οὐδαμόσε belongs to

161 πάντ' ἐνδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὑπερκολακεύοντες ἐκεῖνον. καίτοι ταῦθ' ὅταν ἐξελέγχωνται πάντα, τοὺς χρόνους ἀνηλωκότες, τὰ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ προειμένοι, μηδὲν ὧν ἐψηφίσασθε πεποιηκότες μηδ' ὧν συμφέρον ἦν, τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπηγγελκότες, πῶς ἔνεστι παρ' εὖ φρονοῦσι δικασταῖς καὶ βουλομένοις εὐορκεῖν τούτῳ σώζεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα, ὡς ὁρκοῦν προσῆκεν ἡμῖν, εἶτα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, εἶτα τὸ Φιλοκράτους ψήφισμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. 392

162 Καὶ μὴν ὅτι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ κατελάβομεν ἄν, εἴ τις ἐπείθετό μοι καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐποίει κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα, κάλει τοὺς ἐκεῖ παρόντας μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν μαρτυρίαν, ἃ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην ὕστερον ἐλθόντα τουτονὶ ἀπεκρίνατο Φίλιππος.

ᾤετο: cf. infr. 216 οὐδενὶ δεῖ παρακρουσθῆναι, and *n.* to 6. 33 οὐχὶ βουλοίμην.

ἐνδεικνύμενοι] supr. 113; 'showing themselves off to him,' 'making a display of zeal.'

§ 161. συμφέρον ἦν] sc. πεποιηκέναι; 'or that your interests required.' δεῦρ'] 'brought home false reports.'

τούτῳ] τουτωι i.e. τούτῳ, S, Υ; and so Bekk. st., Vöm., Dind.; τούτοις Sh., Bekk. But though Dem. treats all as guilty, Æ. alone had to be dealt with by the jury. 'When they are found to have done all this, how can sensible jurors fail to condemn the head of the embassy (Aesch. 2. 89 τῆς πρεσβείας ὧν ἡγεμὼν ἐγώ i.e. Aeschines) and the chief culprit, when they have him before them?'

ὅτι] 'However, to prove that what I say is true:' cf. § 70. Madv. 192 b. r.

ὡς] 'the decree directing us how we were to administer the oaths.' τὸ Φ. ψ.] i.e. which he had proposed excepting Halus and the Phocians; τὸ τοῦ δήμου] i.e. that in which the people had insisted on the insertion of Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχοις.

§ 162. ἐν Ἑ.] In 18. 30 he says οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας...ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι.

εἴ τις...] 'if my advice had been followed and your instructions performed;' 3. 2 περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον τιμωρήσεταί τις ἐκεῖνον: and often in threats and warnings; Thuc. 8. 83 εἰ μή τις ἢ διαναυμαχήσει ἢ ἀπαλλάξεται ὅθεν τροφὴν ἕξειν: Thuc. 4. 68 εἴ τε μὴ πείσεταί τις, αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἔσεσθαι: 3. 2. 3; 8. 53. &c. Cf. Arn. on Thuc. 5. 14; Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 1138.

παρόντας] The participle of the imperfect. These were citizens who happened to be there at the time on business or otherwise; infr. 168.

ἃ...] giving the contents of the μαρτυρία; 'the other deposition,

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

163 Ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ' ἄρνησίς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττειν, ἀκούσατέ μου. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν προτέραν ἀπῄρομεν πρεσβείαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, κήρυκα ὑμεῖς προαπεστείλατε ὅστις ἡμῖν σπείσεται. τότε μὲν τοίνυν, ὡς τάχιστα εἰς Ὠρεὸν ἦλθον, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τὸν κήρυκα οὐδ' ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα, Ἅλου δὲ πολιορκουμένου διέπλευσαν εἰς τοῦτον, καὶ πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς Παρμενίωνα τὸν πολιορκοῦντα ἐξελθόντες ἀπῆραν διὰ τοῦ πολεμίου στρατεύματος εἰς Παγασάς, καὶ προϊόντες ἀπήντων ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῷ
164 κήρυκι· τοσαύτῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τότ' ἐχώρουν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη μὲν ἦν, ἅπασα δὲ ἀσφάλεια ἰέναι καὶ πρόσταγμα παρ' ὑμῶν σπεύδειν, τηνικαῦτα οὔτ' ἐπείγεσθαι βαδίζουσιν οὔτε πλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπῄει. τί δή ποτε; ὅτι τότε μὲν τὸ τὴν

stating what answer P. gave to E. here who came afterwards.'

§§ 163—164. *The despatch they used on the first embassy and their dilatoriness on the second, were both dictated by a regard for the interests of Philip.*

ἄρνησις...τὸ μή] 'Now let me show you that any denial too on their part that they did all this in the interest of P. is impossible.' The more usual construction is *οὐκ* (*οὐδέ*) ...*τὸ μὴ οὐκ*, the principal negative being repeated: 24. 69 *τοῖς δ' οὐδὲ λόγος λείπεται τὸ μὴ οὐ πονηροῖς εἶναι*: Madv. 211. But as here 20. 135 *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμφισβήτησις καταλείπεται τὸ μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν*: Soph. *Antig.* 442; Herod. 1. 209 *οὔκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ...οὐδεμίη τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί*: Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 1 *οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι*: Antiph. 2 *β*. 4 *οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φονεὺς* (? *φονεῦσαι*) *εἶναι*; Madv. 156 r. 4.

ἀπῄρομεν πρεσβείαν] 'When we started on the former embassy, that for the peace.' Comp. Soph. *El.* 1265 *ὁδὸν...φανῆναι* and the Homeric *ἀγγελίην ἐλθεῖν*. Madv. 26. 4. Aesch. has *οὔπω ὁ ἀπηρκότων ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν πρεσβείαν* 2. 82 and 3. 73. For *ὅστις* with the Fut. Ind. see Madv. 105 *a* and 115 r. For *ἐποίησαν* Dobr. conj. *ἐνεποίησαν*, which is probably right. Cf. 36. 2 *οὐχ ὅ' ἐκκρούοντες χρόνους ἐμποιῶμεν*. Vöm. quotes Pl. *Phileb.* 50 D *ἢ μέσας ποιήσεις νύκτας*, 'or will you make it midnight,' 'keep on till midnight,' which does not seem at all in point. If the reading is right we must tr. 'cause any delay.'

εἰς τοῦτον] i. e. Halus; 'they crossed over to it.' On the fate of Halus cf. § 39.

εἰς Π.] 'they set off through the hostile army to P.,' the port of Pherae. 1. 9, 23.

§ 164. **ἅπασα**] 'but when there was peace and perfect (§ 76) security for travelling and an order from you to use despatch it never occurred to them then to make haste by land or to go by sea.'

ἀσφάλεια ἰέναι] Cf. n. to § 87. Symmetry would require *ἐπειγομένους βαδίζειν*, as the antithesis is, as often, between the latter verb and *πλεῖν*; 45. 16.

ἐπῄει] 'it never occurred to them.' Cf. n. to § 33; 21. 185 and 192 *εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπῄει τὰ τοιαῦτ' αὐ-*

εἰρήνην ὡς τάχιστα γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἦν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, νῦν δὲ τὸ ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον διατριφθῆναι πρὸ τοῦ
165 τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ 393
λέγω, λαβέ μοι ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντες ἐξελεγχθεῖεν, ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἡνίκα μὲν σπεύδειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔδει καθήμενοι, ὅτε δ' οὐδὲ βαδίζειν προσῆκε πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐπειγόμενοι;
166 Ὃν τοίνυν χρόνον ἦμεν ἐκεῖ καὶ καθήμεθ' ἐν Πέλλῃ, σκέψασθε τί πράττειν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν προείλετο. ἐγὼ μὲν

τῷ σκοπεῖν. So ἐπελθεῖν 1. 1. Aesch. 3. 118 has the fuller expression ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην.

τὸ...τοῦτ'] Cf. supr. 86.

νῦν δέ] 18. 26 Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, which supports the omission here, on the authority of S, of πρό before τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους. Bekk. st. retains it. Compare the well-known passages Arist. *Ach.* 433 κεῖται δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν Θυεστείων ῥακῶν μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς, 'between them and the rags of Ino.' *Av.* 187 ἐν μέσῳ δήπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς i.e. 'between heaven and earth.' Isocr. 4. 70 ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς χώρας, 'in the space between the land of the Thracians and our own.' In these and similar passages one limit is left unexpressed as being necessarily implied. Here is meant the time between their starting and their exacting the oaths. 'On the former occasion it was for the interest of P. that the peace should be concluded as soon as possible, on the latter that the interval between that and their demanding the oaths should be as protracted as possible.'

§ 165. ἄνθρωποι] L., vulg., Sh., Bekk. st., Dind.: ἄνθρωποι Sch., Vöm., the latter thinking it necessary because the remark is not general; i.e. ὑπέρ Φιλίππου and not ὑπέρ τινος. Cf. n. to § 69. Tr. 'is it possible then for men to be convicted of doing everything in the interest of P. by stronger evidence than this—that on the same journey when they ought to have used despatch in your interest they loitered, and when they ought not to have started at all before the arrival of the herald they hurried? οὐδὲ βαδίζειν, as K. observes, being opposed to σπεύδειν. Sch. and Bernhardy take ὁδὸν with καθήμενοι. But this, if so, would only be possible in virtue of the antithesis which makes it = οὐ σπεύδοντες. It is directly governed by σπεύδειν and βαδίζειν.

§§ 166—170. *While we were at Pella, I, resisting the insidious offers of Philip, spent the time in seeking out and helping to redeem our captive countrymen, they, in taking bribes from Philip.*

ἕκαστος] 'how each of us chose to employ himself.' Though ἕκαστος (as *quisque* in Latin, Livy 2. 7; 10. 12; Ovid. *Fast.* 2. 715) is sometimes used where two persons only are in question, and therefore = ἑκάτερος, there is surely no reason for understanding it so here, as Sh. does, after the καθήμενοι and ἐπειγόμενοι of the previous sentence. Dem. indeed stops short with οὗτος δέ; but the other envoys come in afterwards and he would certainly mean to convey an imputation against them here.

τοίνυν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνασώζειν καὶ ζητεῖν, καὶ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ τε χρήματ' ἀναλίσκειν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀξιοῦν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐδίδου ξενιων, τούτους λύσασθαι· οὗτος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀκούσεσθε τί ποιῶν διετέλεσεν. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ κοινῇ
167 χρήμαθ' ἡμῖν τὸν Φίλιππον διδόναι. ἵνα γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῆτε, ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς διεκωδώνιζεν ἅπαντας τίνα τρόπον; ἑκάστῳ προσπέμπων ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πολύ γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διδοὺς χρυσίον. ὡς δ' ἀπετύγχανεν ὁτουδήποτε (οὐ γάρ ἐμέ γ' εἰπεῖν ἐμαυτὸν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτὰ δηλώσει), τὰ κοινῇ δοθέντα πάντας ἡγεῖτο εὐήθως λήψεσθαι· ἀσφάλειαν οὖν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἰδίᾳ πεπρακόσιν

ἀνασώζειν καὶ ζ.] A hysteron proteron (cf. § 13); 'to recover and seek out the captives,' ἀνασώζω being specially used of recovering what has been lost. Her. 1. 82 and 1. 106 οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι.

ὧν] i. e. τούτων (gen. of price) ἃ ἐδίδου ξένια, 'to ransom them (from those into whose hands they had fallen § 39) with what he offered us in presents.' τὸ...διδόναι is clearly not the nom. as Sch. thought, but the acc. depending on ποιῶν; 'what Ae. laboured to effect. What then was that? That P. should offer money to us as a body.'

§ 167. **διεκωδώνιζε**] 'For you must also know P. kept sounding all of us—in what way?' From the passages in which the simple verb is used Arist. *Ranae*, 73 πρὶν γ' ἂν Ἰωφῶντ'...ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ,τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω, and ib. 713, where it is directly applied to coin ὀρθῶς κοπεῖσι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοις, it would seem that the metaphor is derived from the ringing of coin or earthenware. Cf. Plat. *Theæt.* 179 D; *Phileb.* 55 C, with Stallbaum's note.

ὁτουδήποτε] 'when he failed with it matters not whom—for it is not for *me* to say it was myself—our acts and proceedings of themselves (without my saying a word, supr. § 157) will show.' Cf. 40. 8 ὄντινα δέ ποτ' οὖν τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν τοῦτο λέγειν ἐστί. εὐήθως might go with ἡγεῖτο and be referred to Philip (18. 11 κακοήθως δ' ὧν...τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθες ᾠήθης), but the order of the words and the point of the passage is against this: 'he thought we would all in the simplicity of our hearts accept what was given to all.'

ξένια...] 'Therefore the offer was made, under pretence of course of being a gift of hospitality;' 18. 77; Thuc. 3. 111 πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμῶν...ἐξελθόντες; Lys. 13. 12 πρόφασιν μέν...τὸ δὲ ἀληθές. Madv. 31. d. 1; Riddell *Dig.* 13. a. Ambassadors when in the city, or at the court, to which they were commissioned, were never forced to live at their own expense, but were supported by the presents they received. Böckh *Publ. Econ.* bk. 2. ch. 16. To refuse hospitable entertainment to envoys or heralds, as the Athenians did to the Theban herald after the battle of Leuctra (Xen. *Hel.* 6. 4. 20), was looked on as an extreme step. Dem. here wrests the liberality of the king into an attempt at corruption, and the acceptance of it by the envoys as a receiving of δῶρα in the sense used in the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός.

§ 168. Observe the insinuation in προσδιενείμαντο; besides what they had got privately before, they divided among themselves what was thus presented to them as a body.

αὐτούς, εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τοῦ λαβεῖν κοινῇ πάντες μετάσχοιμεν. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο, ξένια δὴ πρόφασιν. ἐπειδὴ
168 δ' ἐκώλυσα ἐγώ, πάλιν προσδιενείμαντο τοῦθ' οὗτοι. τῷ Φιλίππῳ δ', ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν ἐγώ, οὔτε κατειπεῖν τούτων εἶχε καλῶς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, οὔτε φυγεῖν τὸ ἀνάλωμα· ὡμολόγησε μὲν δή, διεκρούσατο δὲ εἰς τὰ Πανα- 394
θήναια φήσας ἀποπέμψειν. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν τὴν Ἀπολλοφάνους, εἶτα τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρόντων.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

169 Φέρε δὴ καὶ ὅσους αὐτὸς ἐλυσάμην τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἴπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ παρόντος πω Φιλίππου διετρίβομεν ἐν Πέλλῃ, ἔνιοι τῶν ἑαλωκότων, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν ἐξηγγυημένοι, ἀπιστοῦντες, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ δυνήσεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα πεῖσαι τὸν Φίλιππον, ἑαυτοὺς ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι

εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους] i.e. in ransoming them, § 166. οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ΩΓΦ, Bekk. st, Sh.; οὔτ' S, L, Vöm. which is not so correct, as this is a subdivision of the first member of the partition, of which οὔτε φυγεῖν is the second. Pl. *Gorg.* 500 B μήτε αὐτὸς οἷον δεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ παίζειν μηδ' ὅτι ἂν τύχῃς παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνου, μητ' αὖ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχου ὡς παίζοντος: Transl. "could neither with honour tell of them or say 'but so and so have it,' nor shirk the outlay," having passed his word that he would do so.

διεκρούσατο] § 33; 'he put me off with a promise that he would send them home by the Panathenea.'

§ 169. **αὐτὸς ἐλυσάμην**] On this φιλοτιμία see n. to § 40; Lys. 12. 20 πάσας τὰς χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας... πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους. In Isae. 5. 44 the speaker when calling on his opponent to show how he had spent all the money in question says, among other things, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλύσω οὐδένα.

ἐξηγγυημένοι] 'such of them as were out on bail,' having found sureties apparently on the strength of Dem.'s promise to them on the first embassy. See infr. 172, with which Aesch. 2. 100 seems to agree, ἐπορεύετο δὲ λυσόμενος τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὡς ἔφη καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀρτίως εἴρηκεν. Cf. Thuc. 3. 70 (quoted by Sh.) ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι with Arnold's note.

μὴ δυνήσεσθαι] Madv. 210; 'doubting I presume whether they would afterwards be able to prevail on P.' Apparently those who were thus out on bail had been led to fear that P. would not be disposed to advance the money for their ransom—but whether this expectation was founded on a promise (supr. 40 *note*) or on what the king had done previously in regard to Athenian captives does not appear—and therefore without waiting for his arrival borrowed the money from Demosthenes. When the king had been prevailed on to advance the money for the rest, in order that those who had ransomed themselves might be put on a level with the others, Dem. forgave them the sums they had borrowed of him for their redemption.

ἑαυτοὺς...λύσασθαι] 'to ransom

λύσασθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν τούτου χάριν ἔχειν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἐδανείζοντο ὁ μὲν τρεῖς μνᾶς ὁ δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ ὅπως συν-
170 ἐβαινεν ἑκάστῳ τὰ λύτρα. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὡμολόγησεν ὁ Φίλιππος τοὺς λοιποὺς λύσεσθαι, συγκαλέσας ἐγὼ τούτους οἷς αὐτὸς ἔχρησα τἀργύριον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπομνήσας, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐπειχθέντες μηδ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λελυτρῶσθαι πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Φίλιππου προσδοκωμένων ἀφεθήσεσθαι, ἔδωκα δωρεὰν τὰ λύτρα. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε ταύτας τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

171 Ὅσα μὲν τοίνυν ἀφῆκα χρήματα καὶ δωρεὰν ἔδωκα τοῖς ἀτυχήσασι τῶν πολιτῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' οὗτος αὐτίκα δὴ λέγῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς "τί δή ποτε, ὡς φῄς, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειπεῖν ἐμὲ Φιλοκράτει γνοὺς οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑγιὲς πράττοντας, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους 395
συνεπρέσβευσας πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐξωμόσω;" ταῦτα μέ-

themselves and be under no obligation to Philip for that.' The reflexive pronoun, which could not be dispensed with here, is common enough with the middle when required by an opposition or perspicuity. Cf. § 139 *προῖεντο ἑαυτούς*: Thuc. 2. 51; Dem. 18. 66 *ἀρχὴν...ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον*: 8. 22 *ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πορίσηται*: Thuc. 7. 5 *τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενος, οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεβάλοντο σφίσιν.*

ὁ δέ] 'a third—according to what each man's ransom came to.' Cf. Arn. on Thuc. 3. 70; Böckh. *Publ. Econ.* bk. 1. c. 13. **ἔχρησα**] 'advanced' i. e. as a friendly loan without interest)(*ἐδάνεισα.* This, the regular use of the words (Ps. D. 49. 23 *ἔχρησε (στρώματα καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς δύο) καὶ τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ἣν ἐδανείζετο, ἐδάνεισεν*), is sometimes departed from. Cf. Ps. D. 49. 6 *προσελθὼν τῷ πατρί...ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν χρῆσαι χιλίας...καὶ ὁ δανεισάμενος τὸ ἀργύριον..Τιμόθεος ἦν*: Theophr. Ch. 14 *ἐὰν τὸ ἄροτρον χρήσῃ ἢ κόφινον ἢ δρέπανον ἢ θύλακον*: but ch. 15 *ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν δανείζεσθαι κριθάς*, and *χρηστὴς* is used as = *δανειστής.*

§ 170. **ἐπειχθέντες**] not, as Sh., 'because they were hurried for time,' but 'that they might not seem to be in a worse position through their haste,' which had led them to effect their own ransom through despair of help from Philip.

π. ἄνθρωποι] 'nor to have been ransomed out of their own means, poor men as they were.'

προσδοκωμένων] passive; 'when it was expected that the others would be set at liberty by P.'

§§ 171—172. *If I had not on the first embassy promised our captive citizens that I would return with their redemption money, I would have declined to serve on the second as I did on the third embassy.*

ἀφῆκα] 'remitted,' 'forgave,' explained by *δωρεὰν ἔδωκα.* Aesch. 3. 103 *τάλαντον ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει,*

τὴν ἐπί] supr. § 17.

ἐξωμόσω] 'did not excuse yourself:' supr. 124.

μνησθε, ὅτι τούτοις ὡμολογήκειν, οὓς ἐλυσάμην, καὶ κομεῖν
172 τὰ λύτρα καὶ σώσειν εἰς δύναμιν. δεινὸν οὖν ψεύσασθαι καὶ προέσθαι δυστυχοῦντας ἀνθρώπους πολίτας. ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐξομοσάμενον οὐ πάνυ καλὸν οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ἐκεῖσε πλανᾶσθαι, ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ τούτους βούλεσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης εἰ προσλαβών γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πάνυ πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα. σημεῖον δέ· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τρίτην πρεσβείαν δίς με χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν δὶς ἐξωμοσάμην. καὶ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀποδημίαν πάντα τἀναντία ἔπραττον.

173 Ὧν μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοκράτωρ ἦν ἐγὼ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν, τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν· ἃ δ' οὗτοι πλείους ὄντες ἐνίκων, ἅπαντ' ἀπόλωλεν. καίτοι καὶ τἄλλ' ἂν ἅπαντ' ἀκο-

ἥξειν] L, vulg. Sh.: Bekk. st, Dind., Vöm. omit it with S. This is I apprehend a correction of the copyist who took offence at the assonance—ἥκειν ἥξειν; cf. supr. § 75. 'I had promised those whom I ransomed that I would return and bring their redemption money and do my utmost to save them.' Dind. and Vöm. omit τά before λύτρα with S; but as the statement is not general but particular (τούτοις), the article is required by the idiom of the language. Bekk. st and Sh. therefore justly retain it.

§ 172. οὐ πανύ] 'hardly,' 'scarcely,' 3. 21 *note*. ἰδίᾳ] i. e. 'on my own private account,' without any commission from the state. Thuc. 2. 67 Δακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις...καὶ Ἀργείων ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις. δεινόν] sc. ἦν: 'It would have been shameful to break my promise and abandon fellow-citizens in misfortune; and after formally declining the mission it would have been scarcely proper or indeed safe to make a private excursion there.' In the following sentence ἂν goes with ἐπρέσβευσα which is conditioned by προσλαβών. Cf. 4. 18. note. Comp. 21. 212 εἰ δὲ οὗτοι χρήματ' ἔχοντες (= εἰ ἔχοιεν 'on supposition of their having') μὴ πρδοιντ' ἄν: 20. 62 οὐκοῦν αἰσχρὸν εἰ μέλλοντες μὲν εὖ πάσχειν συκοφάντην ἂν τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα ἡγοῖσθε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀφελέσθαι...ἀκούσεσθε: where μέλλοντες is the special protasis to ἂν ἡγοῖσθε. But very often there is no definite condition expressed or implied, so that the optative is merely potential: 20. 117 εἰ δὲ μήδ' ἂν εἷς ἐν ἁπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτ' ἔχοι δεῖξαι γεγονός, τίνος ἕνεκ' ἐφ' ὑμῶν πρῶτον καταδειχθῇ τοιοῦτον ἔργον: Isae. 5. 32 ἔφασαν, εἰ μὲν ἀνώμοτοι δίναιντ' ἂν ἡμᾶς διαλλάξαι οὕτω ποιήσειν. Madv. 136, 137; Goodwin, p. 107. 'For, but that I was anxious to save them, may I perish at once and utterly if a very large sum of money would have induced me to go with those men on the embassy.'

εἰ μὴ διὰ] supr. 74.

σημεῖον δέ] supr. § 58; 'which is proved by the fact that when you had twice elected me for (§ 17) the third embassy (§ 121) I twice excused myself.' Cf. on § 126.

παρὰ ταύτην] 'throughout this absence' of which I am speaking and which is before you, i. e. the second; 1. 12 *note*.

§ 173. *I may appeal to this as a proof that if they had not outvoted me, the objects of the embassy would all have equally been attained.*

ἀπόλωλεν] S, L, vulg. Sh.: ἀπο-

λούθως τούτοις ἐπέπρακτο, εἴ τις ἐπείθετό μοι. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' οὕτως ἄθλιος οὐδ' ἄφρων ὥστε χρήματα μὲν διδόναι, λαμβάνοντας ὁρῶν ἑτέρους, ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας· ἃ δ' ἄνευ μὲν δαπάνης οἷά τ' ἦν πραχθῆναι, πολλῷ δὲ μείζονας εἶχεν ὠφελείας πάσῃ τῇ πόλει, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐβουλόμην γίγνεσθαι. καὶ σφόδρα γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, περιῆσαν οὗτοί μου.

174 Φέρε δή, τί τούτῳ πέπρακται παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ τί τῷ

λώλεκε, γρ. F, Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm. So in 8. 10 Bekk. st. and Dind. read ἀπολώλεκε with S, wrongly, I think. Cf. 8. 20; 23. 104. Here the opposition to τοῦτον...ὑμῖν, i. e. 'were brought to a happy issue,' and the words which follow seem decisive in favour of the reading of the MSS. Cf. § 57. 'Those matters then over which I had full control on the E. turned out in this way for you; but those which they by being the majority carried against me have all been lost.'

εἴ τις] supr. 162. Observe the change from ὥστε with the infinitive expressing the result as such, to ὥστε with the indicative which puts it more as a *fact*. Madv. 166; Goodwin 98. The sentence is an ex. of the 'argumentum ex contrario' illustrated on § 132, and the stress of it lies on the clause with δέ, in which the idea that the βούλησις did not exist is rejected as incompatible with the *fact* indicated in the clause with μέν. Now and then δέ introduces the subordinate clause. Xen. *Oecon.* c. 19 § 1 πῶς ἂν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν σπόρον ἐπισταίμην, τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν φυτείαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι; Lys. 12. 87 εἰ διὰ μὲν τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος ...ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν, διὰ δ' Ἐρατοσθένην... δεινὸν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν: Lys. 6. 13; Dem. 23. 5. This is the Enthymeme κατ' ἐξοχήν of the Rhetors. Cf. Cic. *Top.* 55 'ex hoc illa rhetorum ex contrariis conclusa, quae ipsi *Enthymemata* appellant; non quin non omnis sententia proprio nomine *Enthymema* dicatur, sed...quia videtur ea, quae ex contrariis conficiatur, acutissima, sola proprie nomen commune possedit.' Quintil. 5. 10. 2; 8. 5. 9; 9. 2. 106. Cope, *Introd. to Arist. Rhetoric*, p. 104. 'For I was not such a poor wretch or such an idiot as to be giving money when I saw others receiving it, in order to display my zeal for you, while things that might be accomplished without expense, and that carried with them greater advantages to the whole commonwealth, I was not desirous to see done.'

καὶ σφόδρα γε] Sh. supplies ἂν ἐπέπρακτο. But I have no doubt Sch. and K. are right in referring the words to ἐβουλόμην, to which they naturally belong; cf. Isae. 3. 34; Dem. 23. 197. 'I most earnestly desired them,' and urged them upon my colleagues. The reason why they were not attained was not owing to any lack of zeal on my part, 'but I take it these men were too strong for me.'

§§ 174—176. *Now contrast with this the conduct of Aeschinès and Philocrates.*

φέρε δή] Cf. infr. 234.

παρὰ ταῦτα] 'Come now, see what has been done in comparison with this by the defendant and what by Ph., for placed in contrast they will be more evident.' Xen. *Mem.* 1. 4. 14 παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ὥσπερ θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι βιοτεύουσι. Pl. *Phaedr.* 276 E παγκάλην λέγεις παρὰ φαύλην παιδιάν. *Rep.* 9. 584 A φαίνεται... παρὰ τὸ ἀλγεινὸν ἡδὺ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἡδὺ

Φιλοκράτει, θεάσασθε· παρ' ἄλληλα γὰρ ἔσται φανερώτερα. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους καὶ Ἀλέας ἀπέφηναν καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρημένα· εἶτα τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπεχείρησαν κινεῖν καὶ μεταίρειν ἐφ' ᾧ πρεσβεύοντες ἥκομεν· εἶτα Καρδιανοὺς Φιλίππῳ συμ- 39
μάχους ἐνέγραψαν. καὶ τὴν μὲν γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπ'
175 ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ πέμπειν, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑμὲς γράψαντες ἔπεμψαν. εἶθ' ὁ γενναῖος οὗτοσὶ ἐμὲ μὲν τὸν δῆμον ἔφη τὸν ὑμέτερον καταλύσειν ἐπηγγέλθαι Φιλίππῳ, ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐπέπληττον οὐ μόνον αἰσχρὰ νομίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ συμπαραπόλωμαι διὰ τούτους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰδίᾳ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐντυγχάνων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐπαύσατο Φιλίππῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, Δερκύλος δ' αὐτὸν ἐν

ἀλγεινὸν τότε ἡ ἡσυχία. And so frequently with such verbs as σκοπεῖν, τιθέναι, ἐξετάζειν, &c.

Φωκέας...] Cf. § 159.

Κ. παρὰ τὸ ψ.] Cf. introduction and Grote 11. 549 sq.

κινεῖν] of disturbing arrangements and constitutions, of meddling with and appropriating treasures or things sacred; 9. 24 τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν; 23. 205: Thuc. 5. 25 διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα: 8. 15 τὰ χίλια τάλαντα ...ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν: Dem. 45. 58 τὸν ἐχῖνον κεκινηκέναι 'tampered with,' 'broken open.' Tr. 'to disturb and alter the decree to execute which we were commissioned as ambassadors.' *Kardia* had asserted its independence when the Chersonese was ceded to Athens, and been allowed by Aeschines and his colleagues to take the oaths as an ally of Philip. Its independent position is admitted by Dem. 5. 25 Καρδιανοὺς ἐῶμεν ἔξω Χερρονησιτῶν τετάχθαι, though afterwards the Athenians complained when Philip insisted that they should deal with it by reference to arbitration. Ps. D. 7. 41: 9. 35. Grote 11. 623.

ἀπεψηφίσαντο μή] Madv. 210; 'they decided not to send, but wrote themselves and sent one containing not a word of truth (§ 39),' 'a tissue of lies.' Dem. does not explain why he did not send a separate report; or if he had no power to do so as an individual envoy, why he did not inform his political friends who might have brought the matter before the people. Thirl., 5. 361 note 1, is probably right in thinking that Dem. at that time was not aware of Philip's real designs.

§ 175. **μέν...δέ**] 'Then this noble fellow said that *I* had promised P. that I would overthrow your popular government, because I rebuked (§ 251) their proceedings...while he himself...'. γενναῖος is of course ironical, as χρηστοί 3. 27; 18. 30; ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς οὗτος 22. 47.

συμπαραπόλωμαι] 'but fearing also I might along with them perish besides (παρά) through their fault.' He feared the fate that is apt to overtake the δίκαιος ἀνήρ associated τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις *S. c. Th.* 598; Antiph. 5. 82. Cf. 6. 34.

ἰδίᾳ...] 'having private interviews,' which was contrary to their instructions, according to § 278, where all the envoys are included in the charge.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα...δέ] See on § 182.

Φεραῖς τὴν νύκτ' ἐφύλαττεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸν παῖδα ἔχων τὸν ἐμὸν τουτονί, καὶ λαβὼν ἐξιόντα ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου σκηνῆς ἐμοὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὑτοσὶ νύκτα καὶ
76 ἡμέραν ἀπιόντων ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη παρὰ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ συγγραψάμενος καὶ καταστήσας ἐμαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον μαρτυρήσω, εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἕκαστον καλῶ, καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξόμνυσθαι ἀναγκάσω. ἂν δ' ἐξομνύωσιν, ἐπιορκοῦντας ἐξελέγξω παρ' ὑμῖν φανερῶς.

ΜΑΡΤΤΡΙΑ.

77 Οἵοις μὲν τοίνυν κακοῖς καὶ πράγμασι τὴν ἀποδημίαν

ἔχων] 'with the help of.'

τὸ τελευταῖον] Madv. 19. r. 3; Ridd. *Dig.* § 11; 'and finally this abominable and shameless fellow after we had left stayed behind (§ 36) with Philip.' Aesch. 2. 124 says *εἰσπλεῖν μέ φησιν* (Dem.) *ἐν μονοξύλῳ πλοίῳ κατὰ τὸν Λυδίαν ποταμὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς Φίλιππον* and wrote for the King the letter the Ambassadors brought back (§ 36). He then ridicules the idea that his help was needed, because forsooth Leosthenes, Philip himself *πρὸς ὃν ἀντειπεῖν Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη*, and Python were not equal to the task. And if, as Dem. asserted, he was constantly having interviews with Philip by day, why should he go to write the letter by night? But these arguments do not touch the point in question and admit of an easy and obvious answer. It is more to the purpose that he offers the evidence of his messmates on the embassy, Aglaocreon of Tenedos and Iatrocles, who were prepared to depose that he had never been absent a single night or part of a night. But Dem. has really no evidence to offer. He does not call Dercylus as a witness, but rather supposes he may now be ready *ἐξόμνυσθαι* like the rest, nor does he make the usual offer to have his slave examined by torture. Considering how far it would have gone to establish his charges against Ae. if he had succeeded in proving his point, nothing can well be weaker than the case he makes out.

§ 176. **συγγραψάμενος**] The middle is used because it was his own evidence. On the other hand Aesch. 1. 45 *γέγραφα μαρτυρίαν Μισγόλᾳ*, and ib. 47. 'I will commit my deposition to writing, and make myself responsible by giving evidence.' Cf. Aesch. 2. 170 *ὑπεύθυνον συκοφάντῃ μάρτυρα, ἐὰν ψεύδηται.* Dem. 22. 23; 29. 16 and 50 *τῷ μάρτυρι τοῦ κινδύνου περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ὄντος.* Antiph. 2. δ. 7 *ἀτιμοῦνταί τε καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦνται ἐὰν μὴ τἀληθῆ δοκῶσι μαρτυρῆσαι*: Lys. 10. 22; Isae. 5. 19 *τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀτιμῶσαι. Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. *μαρτυρία.*

δυοῖν θ.] 9. 11. Madv. 19. r. 3; 'I will force them to do one or the other—either to give evidence or swear they cannot.' For *ἐξόμνυσθαι* see *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v.

§§ 177—181. *Recapitulation of the charges brought and proved—to which must be added that Ae. has not only betrayed Phocis but Thrace also to Philip. And how important the Hellespont has always been considered is shown by the punishments inflicted on those who imperilled your interests in that quarter.*

τὴν...πᾶσαν] 'I was beset during the whole of our mission,' for which

πᾶσαν συνεσχόμην, ἑωράκατε. τί γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἴεσθ' ἐκεῖ ποιεῖν ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦ διδόντος, ὅθ' ὑμῶν ὁρώντων, τῶν καὶ τιμῆσαι κυρίων ὄντων καὶ τοὐναντίον κολάσαι, τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν;

Συλλογίσασθαι δὴ βούλομαι τὰ κατηγορημένα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἵν' ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑπεσχόμην ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, δείξω πεποιηκώς. ἐπέδειξα οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα ἀλλὰ φε- 397
νακίσαν θ' ὑμᾶς, μάρτυσι τοῖς γεγενημένοις αὐτοῖς, οὐ λόγοις
178 χρώμενος. ἐπέδειξα αἴτιον γεγενημένον τοῦ μὴ θέλειν ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τοῖς τούτου καταληφθέντας τότε, πάντα τἀναντία συμβουλεύσαντα ἢ ἔδει, καὶ τῇ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων ἀντειπόντα εἰρήνῃ τῇ δὲ Φιλοκράτους συναγορεύσαντα, τοὺς χρόνους

we have § 172 παρὰ ταύτην την ἀποδημίαν.

τιμῆσαι...κολάσαι] 'bestow reward'...'inflict punishment.' We have the same antithesis in 2. 27 τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν: Thuc. 2. 87: Ps. D. 25. 21 τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον τούτοις...τιμᾶν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀπειθοῦντα κολάζειν; infr. 265; Ps. Lys. 2. 19.

συλλογίσασθαι] 'I wish now to reckon up the charges I have made from the beginning.' Comp. 24. 108 βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἃ ὑπεσχόμην ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀπολογίσασθαι πεποιηκότα ἐμαυτόν. Ἔφην γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξειν...According to Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 1. § 17 the 'partitio' should not be more than threefold. This rule Quintilian (4. 5. 3) objects to, 'ne illos quidem (he refers specially no doubt to Cornificius) probaverim, qui partitionem vetant ultra tres propositiones extendere. Quae sine dubio, si nimium sit multiplex, fugiet memoriam judicis et turbabit intentionem, hoc tamen numero velut lege non est alliganda, cum possit causa plures desiderare,' as in this speech. We have a threefold 'partitio' in Cicero *de Imp. C. Pomp.* 2. 6; *pr. Cluent.* 4. 9; *pr. Mur.* 5. 11; Dem. 21. 21; 23. 18. Cicero himself (*de invent.* 1. 32) does not fix any particular number.

ἐπέδειξα] after πεποιηκώς we should naturally translate by our definite preterite 'I have shown.' But generally in cases where the temporal relation was apparent from the context so that the connection of the past event or events with the present was clear, the Greeks were partial to the use of the aorist (§ 1 συνήγαγον; § 25 ὑπέμνησα), especially when the perfect was less common or agreeable to the ear.

μάρτυσι τοῖς γ.] supr. § 120; 'going upon the evidence not of words, but of the facts themselves.'

§ 178. **καταληφθέντας**] 'captivated,' 'influenced;' cf. § 49.

τἀναντία ἢ] Madv. 91. r. 1; 'that all his advice was the reverse of what it should have been.'

τῇ...τῶν σ....εἰρήνῃ] 'the peace of the allies,' i.e. which they wished to see made, on the basis of their δόγμα § 15.

συναγορεύσαντα Cobet (*Nov. L.* p. 778) condemns, on the ground that the older writers used ἀπαγορεύω, συναγορεύω, &c. only in the present and imperfect, their futures being ἀπερῶ, συνερῶ &c., their aorists ἀπεῖπον, συνεῖπον, &c. But see Veitch s. v. ἀγορεύω.

κατατρίψαντα, ἵνα μηδ' εἰ βούλοισθε δύναισθε ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Φωκέας, καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργασμένον, προδεδωκότα πάντα, πεπρακότα, δῶρα ἔχοντα, οὐδὲν ἐλλελοιπότα μοχθηρίας. οὐκοῦν ταῦθ' ὑπεσχόμην ἐν
79 *ἀρχῇ, ταῦτ' ἐπέδειξα. ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα· ἁπλοῦς γάρ ἐσθ' ὁ μέλλων λόγος οὗτοσὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη. ὀμωμόκατε ψηφιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων· φαίνεται δ' οὗτος πάντα τἀναντία τοῖς νόμοις, τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, τοῖς δικαίοις πεπρεσβευκώς· οὐκοῦν ἡλωκέναι προσήκει παρά γε νοῦν ἔχουσι δικασταῖς. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἠδίκει, δύο τῶν πε-*
80 *πραγμένων ἔσθ' ἱκανὰ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον Φωκέας ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρᾴκην προδέδωκε Φιλίππῳ. καίτοι δύο χρησιμωτέρους τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἐπιδείξαι τῇ πόλει, κατὰ μὲν γῆν Πυλῶν, ἐκ θαλάττης δὲ τοῦ Ἑλλη-*

εἰς Φ.] 'to Phocis;' 6. 36; 9. 11 and so *passim*, where we should use the name of the country.

οὐδὲν...] 'that there has been no limit to his villainy.' Observe the interchange of the perfect participles, strictly denoting results in reference to the time of speaking, and the aorists expressing bygone results as links to the chain of events falling in time antecedent to the moment of speaking. But the reason for the alternation does not lie in the wish to insist on such difference of meaning, but merely to give relief to the sentence. Cf. §§ 8 and 318.

§ 179. **ὁ μέλλων...ἤδη**] 'Now observe what follows; for the statement I am now going to make to you is from this point simple;' Aesch. 3. 50 *ἁπλοῦς δὴ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γίγνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εὐμαθής.* *ἤδη* at the end of the sentence as in § 19.

ὁ μέλλων λόγος] Cobet (*Hyper. Fun. Or.* p. 72) objecting to *ὁ μέλλων λόγος* ('quid sit *ὁ μέλλων χρόνος* novimus et *τὸ μέλλον φοβεῖσθαι* et similia omnia; sed *ὁ μέλλων λόγος* et *ἀκούειν τὸ μέλλον* [20. 74] neque dici solet neque intelligi potest') reads *ὁ μέλλων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγος*. He is sufficiently refuted by the passages quoted by Sh. and Vöm. Thuc. 6. 76 *τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν λόγους*; Eur. *Med.* 566 *τοῖσι μέλλουσιν τέκνοις*; Eur. *El.* 626 *πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου*. Cf. also 5. 17 *ὁ μέλλων πόλεμος*; Ps. Dem. 50. 16 *τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβου*.

τὰ τοῦ δήμου] S, Bekk. st, Vöm., Sh., the force of the article extending to *τῆς βουλῆς*. Cf. infr. 303; 2. 9 *note*. Dind. omits *τὰ* with the other MSS., which gives an equally legitimate construction. Madv. 10. Dem. 27. 43 *τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ τοῦ χαλκοῦ*; 18. 37 *τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου*; Thuc. 8. 8 *τὸν στόλον ἐς τὴν Χίον*. It would be uncritical to found any argument on the spurious Heliastic oath in 24. 149, where *τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων* occurs twice.

πάντα τἀναντία...πεπρεσβευκώς] Madv. 27; infr. 188, 189, 257, 310; 'is proved in his every act as ambassador to have violated...the requirements of justice.'

ἀποκτεῖναι] 'to kill him,' as supr. 131.

§ 180. **Πυλῶν** and '**E.** it is hardly

σπόντου· ἃ συναμφότερα οὗτοι πεπράκασιν αἰσχρῶς καὶ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκεχειρίκασι Φιλίππῳ. τοῦτο τοίνυν αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ἡλίκον ἔστ' ἀδίκημα, τὸ Θρᾴκην καὶ τὰ τείχη προέσθαι, μυρί' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολώλασι

necessary to say depend on χρησιμωτέρους, 'than Pylae by land (§ 83) and the H. by sea.' Cf. 18. 241 εἶτα καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ... ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε (by the conquests mentioned in § 156) καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. How Athens would be affected by this appears from Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 35; Dem. 20. 31 πλείστῳ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρώμεθα. πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν, which he says, ib. 32, amounted to about 400,000 medimni; the whole importation of corn from abroad being on the average probably about one million medimni. Böckh, *Publ. Econ.* bk. 1. c. 15.

ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων] 'independently of,' 'without including the rest;' 18. 89 ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν 'besides bringing us;' 24. 59; so χωρὶς supr. 83; 21. 67 χωρὶς ὧν ὑβρίσθην.

μυρί' ἂν εἴη] 9. 60 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο...πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, and Lys. 32. 11; cf. Andoc. 3. 9 καθ' ἕκαστον διηγεῖσθαι μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λόγος: Lys. 23. 11 πολὺς ἂν εἴη μοι λόγος διηγεῖσθαι. Tr. 'how heinous an offence this of itself is without the rest—the sacrificing Thrace and the Castles (explanatory of Θρᾴκην, as in § 156)—would be an exhaustless topic.'

διὰ ταῦτ'] was apparently misunderstood by Sch. who says 'τοιαῦτα si codex offerret, acciperem.' The meaning is 'on this account,' i. e. for imperilling your interests in this quarter. Cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 288. After διὰ ταῦτ' we may supply οἱ μέν; cf. infr. 280; 18. 121 νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, and after ὅσοι, as here, Pl. *Apol.* 18 D ὅσοι δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι; Ps. D. 10. 3; Ps. D. 50. 62 ἀκούοντά με καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων λόγῳ τὰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν. Ridd. *Dig.* 241. 'How many persons have been condemned to death before you or have been heavily fined.' *Ergophilus* is no doubt the officer mentioned in 23. 104 as recalled from his command in Thrace and succeeded by Autocles, who in his turn was superseded by Meno (Ps. D. 50. 12). Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 3. 13 may refer to this E. ὁ συνέβη ἐπὶ Ἐργοφίλου· μᾶλλον γὰρ χαλεπαίνοντες ἢ Καλλισθένει ἀφεῖσαν, διὰ τὸ Καλλισθένους τῇ προτεραίᾳ καταγνῶναι θάνατον, for the reason given by Lys. 19. 6 ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ τελευταῖοι κρινόμενοι σώζονται· πεπαυμένοι γὰρ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν ἀκροᾶσθε καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἤδη θέλοντες ἀποδέχεσθε. *Cephisodotus*, it is said in 23. 167, on account of a convention unfavourable to Athens which he entered into with Charidemus, while besieging Alopeconnesus in the Chersonnese, was deposed from his command and fined five talents, only escaping capital punishment by three votes. As the characters of the general and the statesman were at this time hardly ever combined in the same person (Thirl. 5. 243), it is probable, so far, that this was not the Cephisodotus of Cerameicus mentioned by Dem. 20. 150 as inferior to none of their orators in eloquence. *Timomachus*, who seems to have been superseded in the command in Thrace and the Hellespont (23. 115; Aesch. 3. 51) by Cephisodotus, B.C. 360, was accused on his return home by Apollodorus the son of Pasion the banker, who was of his trierarchs, and has a great deal to say about him in Ps. D. 50. 14 sq. According to Aesch. 1. 56, Hegesander the brother of Hegesippus went out with T. as his ταμίας, and taking advan-

παρ' ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν, οὐ χαλεπὸν 398
δεῖξαι, Ἐργόφιλος Κηφισόδοτος Τιμόμαχος, τὸ παλαιόν
ποτε Ἐργοκλῆς Διονύσιος, ἄλλοι, οὓς ὀλίγου δέω σύμπαντας
181 εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τὴν πόλιν βεβλαφέναι τούτου. ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ
τότε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκ λογισμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ ἐφυλάττεσθ'
ὑμεῖς καὶ προεωρᾶσθε. νῦν δ' ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑμᾶς
ἐνοχλῇ καὶ παρὸν λυπῇ, παρορᾶτε, εἶτα τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθα
ψηφίζεσθε, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Κερσοβλέπτῃ Φίλιππον τοὺς

tage of his easy goodnature appropriated 'ὡς λέγεται' 70 minas of the public money; to which he adds the rhetorical flourish καὶ τρόπον τινὰ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἴτιος ἐγένετο οὗτος τῷ Τιμομάχῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς. *Exocles*, the friend of Thrasybulus of the Deme Steiria, and associated with him in his command on the Asiatic coast B.C. 390, was brought to trial for oppression of the allies and fraudulent appropriation of the moneys levied by himself and his colleagues in the Bosphorus, at Methymna, Halicarnassus and other places on the coast. Grote, 9. 507 sq. On this occasion Lysias wrote the speech κατὰ Ἐργοκλέους. In the following speech (xxix) Lysias says § 2 πάντας ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι εἰδέναι ὅτι Ἐργοκλέους διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς θάνατον κατεχειροτονήσατε ὅτι κακῶς διαθεὶς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα ταλάντων οὐσίαν ἐκτήσατο. He does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Of *Dionysius* nothing seems to be known. Among the ἄλλοι would be Theotimus mentioned by Hyper. *pr. Eux.* § 1 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον εἰσηγγέλλοντο παρ' ὑμῖν Τιμόμαχος καὶ Λεωσθένης καὶ Καλλίστρατος καὶ Φίλων ὁ ἐξ Ἀναίων καὶ Θεότιμος ὁ Σηστὸν ἀπολέσας καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι.

τὸ παλαιόν ποτε] adverbially, 'in ancient times;' Thuc. 2. 99 τὸ ἀρχαῖον. So Thuc. 4. 78 τὸ ἐγχώριον; Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 7 τὸ παρελθόν.

ἐλάττω] 'All of whom together I may say have damaged the state less than Aeschines;' strictly 'in fewer points:' Madv. 27 b: Ridd. *Dig.* § 6. Pl. *Apol.* 30 c ἐμὲ μείζω βλάψετε; Xen. *Oecon.* 3. 12 ἔστι δ' ὅτῳ ἐλάσσονα διαλέγῃ; Dem. 44. 16 οὐκ ἂν ἠρωχλοῦμεν τὰ πλείω. Thuc. 4. 64 τὰ πλείω βλάπτεσθαι.

§ 181. **ἀλλὰ...γάρ**] Ridd. *Dig.* 147 f; 'but the truth is you, at that time, still guarded against and were provident of danger upon calculation; but now whatever does not trouble you for the day and give you present annoyance you overlook;' cf. 6. 27. Therefore they had, as he often tells them, τὸ συμβαῖνον διώκειν (4. 39 sq.: Ps. D. 10. 21), and never deliberated like other people πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων but μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. 5. 2; Ps. D. 10. 29.

With **τὴν ἄλλως**, ὁδόν is generally supplied, but cf. *n.* to 3. 2. To the instances there given add 5. 17 ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης; Her. 1. 60 ἐκ νέης; 1. 108 ἐξ ὑστέρης; Thuc. 3. 92 ἐκ καινῆς.—For τὴν ἄλλως cf. 3. 21 τὴν ἄλλως προῄρημαι λέγειν; 6. 32 τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ (Bekk. st. has ὡς ἑτέρως with S, F; Isae. 7. 28 καὶ μὴ ὡς ἄλλως ποιήσωσι; Dem. 6. 10); infr. 336; 'then you come here and vote at random,' 'pass idle resolutions' which are not followed up by acts and only embody the passing sentiment of the moment: Ps. D. 13. 33; 3. 14. Cf. 4. 46 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε ὅ,τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε.

ἐνταῦθα as addressed to the jurors is curious.

δέ] (supr. 48) marks the purports of the various idle decrees, 'that P. shall take the oaths to Cersobleptes also,' 'that he shall not be admitted a member of the A. council (cf. for the phrase supr. § 20),' 'that you will

ὅρκους, μὴ μετέχειν δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην. καίτοι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἂν τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἔδει, εἰ πλεῖν οὗτος ἤθελε καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν· νῦν δ' ἃ μὲν ἦν πλεύσασι σῶσαι, βαδίζειν κελεύων ἀπολώλεκεν, ἃ δ' εἰποῦσι τἀληθῆ, ψευδόμενος.

182 Ἀγανακτήσει τοίνυν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, εἰ μόνος τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λεγόντων λόγων εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. ἐγὼ δ', ὅτι μὲν πάντες ἂν εἰκότως ὧν λέγουσι δίκην ὑπέχοιεν εἴπερ ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ τι λέγοιεν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λέγω· εἰ μὲν Αἰσχίνης ἰδιώτης ὢν ἀπελήρησέ τι καὶ διήμαρτε, μὴ σφόδρα ἀκριβολογήσησθε, ἐάσατε, συγγνώμην ἔχετε· εἰ δὲ πρεσβευτὴς ὢν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίτηδες ἐξηπά-

amend the peace!' The last words refer to the negotiations between Philip and the Athenians about a rectification of the treaty, B.C. 343, the year before this speech was delivered. Ps. D. 7. 18. Thirl. 6. 20; Grote 11. 615.

βαδίζειν] 'by insisting upon a land journey' opposed to πλεύσασι, as above § 164.

§§ 182—186. *Answer to the complaint he will make that he alone of our public speakers is called to an account for 'words.'*

εἰ...] Madv. 194 c: 'He will bitterly complain (cf. § 26 θαυμάζῃ) presently, as I am informed, that he should be the only one of the speakers in the assembly who is called to an account for words,' i. e. his reports and speeches. Aesch. refers to this point in 2. 178 καὶ τὸν τῶν λόγων κύριον τὰς τῶν ἔργων προσδοκίας ἀπαιτοῦσι...δέκατος δ' αὐτὸς πρεσβεύσας μόνος τὰς εὐθύνας δίδωμι.

ὅτι μὲν...παραλείψω. ἀλλ'.] A figure called εἰρωνεία by Anaximenes *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 22, but by the *Technici* generally παράλειψις ('*occultatio*' Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 3. § 37) 'ἔστιν ὅταν τῷ δοκεῖν τινὰ παραλιπεῖν λέγῃ ἃ βούλεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λεπτίνην (§ 2)...τῷ τε γὰρ οὕτως εἰπεῖν ἃ βούλεται δεδήλωκε καὶ τῇ παραλείψει τὸ φορτικὸν ἀφῄρηται.' Tiberius, *Rhet. Graec.* 3. p. 60 Spengel. The rationale of it is well given by Cornificius l. c. 'haec utilis est exornatio, si aut ad rem non pertinet planius ostendere, quod occulte admonuisse prodest, aut si longum est aut ignobile aut planum non potest fieri aut facile potest reprehendi, ut utilius sit fecisse suspitionem quam ejusmodi intendisse orationem quae redarguatur' (Dem. 20. 99 quoted below). Cf. supr. 145 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ ... ἀλλ' ... ; 9. 21 and 26; 20. 52; 21. 182; 22. 15; 24. 107; Aesch. 3. 51. Comp. Cic. *pro Imp. C. Pomp.* § 60 (Halm). We have in 20. 99 the fuller expression ἐγὼ δ', ὅτι μὲν...ἐάσω, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τούτου τις ἀντιλέγῃ μοι, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο εἶμι· ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃ.... Instead of ἀλλά we often find δέ used. Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 12 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγειν; αὐτῷ δέ...; Dem. 22. 70; 23. 26; supr. 175. 'Now I will not insist that it is right all should be called to an account for their words if they speak for money, I will only say—if Ae. as a private citizen (i. e. bearing no commission from the state) talked at random or blundered, do not take too strict an account of it, let it pass.' 23. 148 οὐ πάνυ ταῦτα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸν δικαίως ἐξετάζοντα; 18. 21 and 240. There is no need then to read ἀκριβῶς λογίσησθε from S and L as Vöm. and Dind. do.

τηκεν ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἀφῆτε, μηδ' ἀνάσχησθε ὡς οὐ δεῖ δίκην ὧν
183 εἶπεν ὑποσχεῖν. τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου δεῖ δίκην παρὰ πρέσβεων
ἢ λόγων λαμβάνειν; εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις οὐ τριήρων οὐδὲ
τόπων οὐδὲ ὁπλιτῶν οὐδ' ἀκροπόλεων κύριοι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ
πρέσβεσι ταῦτ' ἐγχειρίζει) ἀλλὰ λόγων καὶ χρόνων. τοὺς 399
μὲν τοίνυν χρόνους εἰ μὲν μὴ προανεῖλε τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ
ἀδικεῖ, εἰ δ' ἀνεῖλεν, ἠδίκηκεν· τοὺς δὲ λόγους εἰ μὲν ἀληθεῖς
ἀπήγγελκεν ἢ συμφέροντας, ἀποφευγέτω, εἰ δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς
84 καὶ μισθοῦ καὶ ἀσυμφόρους, ἀλισκέσθω. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσθ'
ὅ τι μεῖζον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσειέ τις ἢ ψευδῆ λέγων· αἷς γάρ
ἐστ' ἐν λόγοις ἡ πολιτεία, πῶς, ἂν οὗτοι μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσιν,
ἀσφαλῶς ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι; ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἃ τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς συμφέρει δῶρά τις λαμβάνων λέγῃ, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ
κινδυνεύσετε; οὐδέ γε τοὺς χρόνους ἴσον ἔστ' ἀδίκημα ὀλιγ-
αρχίας ἢ τυράννου παρελέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν· οὐδ' ὀλίγου γε
185 δεῖ. ἐν ἐκείναις μὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις πάντ' ἐξ

ἀνάσχησθε ὡς] 'put up with it that he ought not to be brought to trial for what he said;' ὡς being the plea they are not to tolerate. Cf. § 75.

§ 183. Observe *μέν, μέν, δέ, δέ, μέν, δέ,* in which *τοὺς μὲν χρόνους* correspond to *τοὺς δὲ λόγους*. Cf. 18. 214; 23. 208; 24. 203 *ὃς οὖν τὴν μὲν ἀδελφὴν ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ φησι μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, πέπρακε δὲ σῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ αὑτοῦ πατέρα οὕτω γηροτροφεῖ...*; supr. 146. 'With respect then to times—if he did not rob the city of her times of action he is innocent; if he did, he is guilty. And as regards words—if his reports....'

οὐκ ἀδικεῖ] 'he is not wrong in what he did,' 'he is innocent;' *ἠδίκηκε* 'he has done wrong,' 'he is guilty.' Madv. 110 r. 2.

§ 184. **ἐν λόγοις**] explained by what follows in § 185; 'for in the case of those whose political system is based on 'words' (speaking) how, if these be not true, is it possible to carry it on in safety? but if a man shall even speak in furtherance of the interests of your enemies for a bribe, how can you help being in *peril?*' *καί* expressing that this is a step beyond *πῶς...ἀσφαλῶς*. It is clear that *λόγοι* here is not to be restricted to the reports of ambassadors (supr. 138 *λέγοντας*) and that *οἷς...πολιτεία* is a mere periphrasis for democracy, the characteristic of which was open and full discussion of all public matters (Thuc. 2. 40).

οὐδέ γε] 'nor indeed is it as great a crime to rob an oligarchy or a despot of his times of action as it is to rob you, or anything like it.'

οὐδ' ὀλίγου γε δεῖ (*οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖ*) is a phrase apparently peculiar to Dem. in classical Greek (16. 16; 20. 113; 24. 195), equivalent to *οὐδ' ἐγγύς*, which we find used at the end of a sentence in the same way 18. 12 and 96; 21. 29; 37. 38.

§ 185. **ταῖς πολιτείαις**] 'forms of government.' 20. 15 *ᾧ μόνῳ μείζους εἰσὶν αἱ παρὰ τῶν δήμων δωρεαὶ τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν διδομένων*: Thuc. 5. 31; Aesch. 1. 4, and so *passim*. For another sense of the word, 'free constitutions,' see *n.* to 1. 3. 'For in those governments, I take it, everything is done promptly according to order, but with you the

ἐπιτάγματος ὀξέως γίγνεται· ὑμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἀκοῦσαι περὶ πάντων καὶ προβουλεῦσαι δεῖ, καὶ τοῦθ' ὅταν ᾖ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις προγεγραμμένον, οὐκ ἀεί, εἶτ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ταύτην ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκῃ. εἶτα κρατῆσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι δεῖ τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας τῶν ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀντιλεγόντων.
186 ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις, ἐπειδὰν καὶ δεδογμένον ᾖ καὶ συμφέρον ἤδη φαίνηται, χρόνον δεῖ δοθῆναι τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδυναμίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ποριοῦνται ταῦθ' ὧν ἂν δέωνται, ὅπως τὰ δόξαντα καὶ δυνηθῶσι ποιῆσαι. ὁ δὴ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ἀναιρῶν τῆς οἵα παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ πολιτείας οὐ χρόνους ἀνῄρηκεν οὗτος, οὔ, ἀλλὰ τὰ πράγματα ἁπλῶς ἀφῄρηται.

C. must first hear about everything and draw up their previous order and this when notice has been given for heralds and embassies (for the reception of their own or foreign embassies, Thuc. 6. 8), not always, then call an assembly and that only when it is allowable by the laws.'

ὀξέως] Cf. 1. 4 and 18. 246 where he draws a comparison between the position of Philip as an absolute monarch and his own as a statesman in a free city, *ἐν πολιτείᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐνδεδεμένος*, as Isocr. says 5. 127: cf. also Isocr. 5. 14 sq.

προγεγραμμένον] *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. *Ecclesia.*

καθήκῃ] 23. 68 *ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις καθήκει*; 43. 67 *κελεύων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ποιεῖν τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐν ταῖς καθηκούσαις ἡμέραις.*

τοὺς τὰ β. λ.] 'your honest counsellors have to carry their point and prevail over those who oppose them through ignorance or want of principle.' Comp. with Dobree 15. 31 *δεῖ...ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους κρατῆσαι τῶν τἀναντία τῇ πόλει παρ' ὑμῖν πράττειν προῃρημένων. Ὅταν οὖν μηδὲν ᾖ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτὶ τῶν δεόντων γενέσθαι, πολλῶν διαμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰκότως συμβαίνει. τὸ βέλτιστον* (*τὰ βέλτιστα*) had become so fixed in this sense that we even have *ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ δήμου βελτίστων* Dein. 2. 17; *ἕνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου τῆς πόλεως* Aesch. 2. 150.

§ 186. **ἐφ' ἅπασι**] 'and after all this, when a resolution has passed and is seen to be for the public good, time has to be allowed to the inability of the mass, during which they may provide themselves (to provide themselves) with what they need that they may be able withal to execute what has been determined upon.' The first *καὶ* which is merely proleptic cannot well be expressed in English. Cf. 4. 8; 21. 1; Lys. 14. 24 *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀποδέχεσθε...εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων ἀκροάσασθαι*; Isae. 4. 26 *ὅπερ ἂν οὖν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἀξιώσειε, τοῦτο καὶ τουτοισὶ...βεβιώσατε*, and so *passim.*

οἵα S., Bekk. st., Vöm., Sh.; *οἷας* L., vulg: 'vide ne genuinum sit, ita tamen ut quod sequitur *ἐστι* deleas' Sch. There is no need for change. Madv. 106 a, r. 2. Pl. *Parm.* 130 c *τῶν οἷοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν πάντων*; Hyper. *pr. Lycophr.* col. 12 (Blass.) *ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν αἰτιῶν οἵα αὕτη ἐστίν.* Ps. D. 25. 30 *καὶ πρόσεστι τοῖς οἷόσπερ οὗτός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν*: cf. infr. 254.

Observe the middle **ἀφῄρηται** after *ἀναιρῶν* and *ἀνῄρηκεν*, expressing not so much 'for his own ends,' as that he so takes it away as to quite deprive the state of it; 'has not destroyed opportunities of action (only), no! he has simply robbed

187 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς βουλομένοις "οἱ ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν, οἱ διακωλύοντες Φίλιππον εὖ ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν." πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἐρῶ, τὰς δ' ἐπιστολὰς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐφ' ὧν ἕκαστα ἐξηπάτησθε ὑπομνήσω, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ὄνομα, τὸ ἄχρι 400
κόρου, παρελήλυθ' ἐκεῖνος φενακίζων ὑμᾶς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

188 Οὕτω τοίνυν αἰσχρὰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πάντα καθ' ὑμῶν

you of your main interests:' τὰ πράγματα being what he elsewhere calls τὰ ὅλα, τὰ ὅλα πράγματα 1. 3: supr. 151.

οὐ...οὔ] infr. 232; 21. 112 οὐ μέτεστι τῶν ἴσων ... οὐ μέτεστιν, οὔ; Soph. *Aj.* 970; Arist. *Vesp.* 486; *Nub.* 1067; Pl. *Symp.* 199 A οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην, οὐ μέντοι.

§ 187. *Those who wish to deceive you are fond of trying to stop adverse criticism by saying that it will prevent Philip from being the city's benefactor. Philip's letters will show that he has lost all claim to such title.*

ἔστι τοίνυν] Comp. 16. 11 ἔστι τοίνυν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις λόγος παρὰ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων; 20. 112 ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὡς ἄρα...; 9. 47. 'There is a ready argument for all who seek to deceive you—'the disturbers of the state,' 'the people who persistently prevent P. from benefiting us.'' For the simple infinitive after διακωλύοντες cf. § 212.

πρὸς οὓς] Compare the language in 9. 41.

τὸ ψυχρὸν...ὄνομα] i. e. of Benefactor (εὐεργέτης) if not actually, at least constructively, claimed by Philip and echoed just at this time by his partizans at Athens. Cf. supr. 41, and especially Ps. D. 7. 21, which has strangely escaped the notice of commentators. Mention is there made of letters received from Philip in which he complains that he should ἄπιστος φαίνηται τούτοις ὧν προήρηται εὐεργέτης εἶναι; and ib. 33 and 34 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν ἐπιστολῇ ὑπισχνεῖται, ἐὰν τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγουσι πιστεύητε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τιμωρήσησθε, ὡς μεγάλα ὑμᾶς εὐεργετήσει; also Aesch. 1. 169. Tr. 'And remind you of the occasions on which you were in each case deceived, to let you see that by cheating you he has lost (overshot) that frigid title, repeated till one was sick of hearing it.' I have with Sh. followed Reiske's interpretation of παρελήλυθε as on the whole the best, 'excidit merito honorificae hujus appellationis, culpâ suâ titulum illum Euergetae amisit.' Dobree makes τὸ ψ...κόρου parenthetical. But what in that case is to be made of παρελήλυθε?

§§ 188—191. *Though his conduct has been so bad, he goes about and asks what is to be thought of one who accuses his colleagues. I had no choice, unless I wished to be thought connected with their crimes; and might appeal to many precedents in justification of the step I have taken.*

αἰσχρὰ καὶ πολλά] Not to be confounded, as Sch. remarks, with the ordinary phrase πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά. He properly tr. 'tam turpia eaque et multa et omnia;' 'though his conduct as ambassador has been so disgraceful (§ 173), and that in many, nay in all respects.' Lys. 14. 29 καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἡμαρτηκότι καὶ οὕτω δεινὰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πεποιηκότι: Aesch. 3. 203 ἄφθονα δήπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν: Dem. 21. 109 ποιήσας δεινὰ

πεπρεσβευκὼς περιιὼν λέγει "τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ Δημοσθένους, ὃς τῶν συμπρέσβεων κατηγορεῖ;" νὴ Δί', εἴτε βούλομαί γ' εἴτε μή, παρ' ὅλην μὲν τὴν ἀποδημίαν ὑπὸ σοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, δυοῖν δ' αἱρέσεως οὔσης μοι νυνί, ἢ τοιούτων ὄντων τῶν πεπραγμένων δοκεῖν κοινωνεῖν ὑμῖν,
189 ἢ κατηγορεῖν. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲ συμπεπρεσβευκέναι φημί σοι, πρεσβεύειν μέντοι σὲ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ἐμαυτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων τὰ βέλτιστα. ἀλλὰ Φιλοκράτης σοι συμπεπρέσβευκε, κἀκείνῳ σύ, καὶ Φρύνων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, καὶ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἤρεσκεν. ποῦ δ' ἅλες; ποῦ τράπεζα; ποῦ σπονδαί; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδεῖ περιιών, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τούτων ὄντας προδότας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ δίκαια
190 ποιοῦντας. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρυτάνεις θύουσιν ἑκάστοτε κοινῇ καὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συσπένδουσιν· καὶ οὐ διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ χρηστοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς μιμοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀδικοῦντα λάβωσί τιν' αὐτῶν, τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῦσιν. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα, εἰσιτήρια ἔθυσε,

νὴ Δία καὶ πολλὰ ἀδίκως: Pl. *Rep.* 505 D.

τί δ'] 9. 16; Isae. 8. 24 ἐκείνους ἂν τοὺς λόγους ἔλεγε, σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ; σοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει θάπτειν; 'What is to be said of D.?' 'What do you think of D.?'

νὴ Δί'] 9. 68; 'Certainly I do, whether I will or not.' Comp. what he says infr. 223; supr. 33; 6. 33.

§ 189. **οὐδέ**...] 'but I say I was not your colleague at all on the embassy, but that you did many heinous things as ambassador, and I only what was best for my countrymen.' 18. 21 Φιλοκράτης...ὁ σός, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος.

ποῦ δ' ἅλες;] Cf. Aesch. 2. 22 τοὺς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἅλας καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν περὶ πλείστου δή φησι ποιῆσαι, and 183 οὔτε ἱερῶν οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔτε τραπέζης φροντίσας.

τραγῳδεῖ] 'So he goes about and rants.' 18. 13 ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει; ib. 15 ὑποκρίνεται; Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 26 τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῆς (Olympias) καὶ τὰς κατηγορίας ἀφῃρηκότες ἔσεσθε.

ὥσπερ...ἀδικοῦντας] 'as if it were not the doers of iniquity that are the betrayers of such things but the doers of justice.' Madv. 182. Xen. *Comm.* 1. 2. 20 εὔχετο πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς ἀγαθὰ διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας: Thuc. 1. 134. 4; 6. 24. 3 ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν; 8. 66. 5 &c., ὡς or ὥσπερ supplying the notion of νομίζειν, or the like, on which the accusative depends.

§ 190. **ταὐτὰ ταῦτα**] 'in the same way;' 21. 39 ὁ πληγείς...ταὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἰδίᾳ διαλυσάμενος: Pl. *Symp.* 178 E ταὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁρῶμεν...: in the plural as here, Pl. *Prot.* 318 A ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα. Madv. 19. 1. 3.

εἰσιτήρια] sc. ἱερά, as θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια Thuc. 5. 54; supr. 128; 'offer the sacrifices on taking office, banquet together.' *Gr. & R. Ant.* s. v. In 21. 114 Dem. says he officiated on one occasion himself, εἴασε μέν με εἰσιτήρια ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἱεροποιῆσαι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ κατάρξασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως. For the aorist cf. § 5.

συνειστιάθη. σπονδῶν, ἱερῶν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι. ἆρ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς
191 *ἀδικοῦσιν ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκαν ἄδειαν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Λέων Τιμαγόρου κατηγόρει συμπεπρεσβευκὼς τέτταρα ἔτη, Εὔβουλος Θάρρηκος καὶ Σμικύθου συσσεσιτηκώς, Κόνων ὁ* 401
παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος Ἀδειμάντου συστρατηγήσας. πότεροι οὖν τοὺς ἅλας παρέβαινον καὶ τὰς σπονδάς, Αἰσχίνη; οἱ προδιδόντες καὶ οἱ παραπρεσβεύοντες καὶ οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες ἢ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες; οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δῆλον ὅτι τὰς ὅλης γε τῆς πατρίδος, ὥσπερ σύ, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἰδίας.
192 *Ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι οὐ μόνον τῶν δημοσίᾳ πώποτ' ἐλη-*

σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν] 'So I may say nearly all our magistrates.' The phrase is frequently used by Aristotle to take off the appearance of dogmatism; *Pol.* 5. 10 *σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν*; *Rhet.* 2. 5. 12 *σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ μέγιστα ταῦτ' ἐστίν*, &c.; *σχεδόν* (§ 1; 3. 36) belonging to the same category as *ἴσως* (1. 23) and *οἶμαι*, which affect the expression merely of a conviction, without implying any limitation of the confidence with which it is held.

ἑαυτῶν] 'do they grant impunity to those members of their body who act criminally?'

§ 191. On *Timagoras* see supr. § 31. We have no means, I believe, of determining what is meant by *σ. τέτταρα ἔτη*. Cf. Grote, 10. 384. The example of *Eubulus* would be more telling as he supported Aeschines. *Adeimantus* was appointed general along with Conon and Philocles after the battle of Arginusae. At Aegospotami he and Philocles fell into the hands of Lysander; the latter with the other Athenian prisoners was put to death, but Adeimantus, on the ground that he had opposed the resolution to cut off the hands of any Lacedaemonian prisoners that might be taken in the fight, was spared, *ἠτιάθη μέντοι*, says Xenophon (*Hell.* 2. 1. 32), *ὑπό τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς*. This was most likely the ground on which he was impeached by Conon. Lys. 14. 38 *ὑπερβολὴν ποιησάμενος τῆς προτέρας πονηρίας ἐτόλμησε* (Alcibiades) *τὰς ναῦς Λυσάνδρῳ μετὰ Ἀδειμάντου προδοῦναι.*

ἐκεῖνος] 'the famous C. of old' 3. 21; 18. 219.

τοὺς ἅλας] i. e. the obligations arising from having broken bread together and joined in the same libations.

τὰς...γε] 'Assuredly those who acted criminally violated the sacred obligations of their *whole* (*γε*) country, as you have done, not simply those of private life,' applying what Ae. had said above. So K. But the argument rather requires us to tr. 'Assuredly those who violated the sacred obligations of their whole country, as you did, not merely those of private life;' i. e. assuredly those who as traitors and false ambassadors and receivers of bribes violated the most sacred of all ties, the ties that bind them to their country, were guilty of what Ae. says, not their colleague who accuses them.

§§ 192—198. *Their private was on a par with their public conduct, as you will see by comparing the noble act of our comic player Satyrus with the brutal violence with which your envoy Aeschines treated an Olynthian lady.*

δημοσίᾳ] 'on a public mission,'

λυθότων ὡς Φίλιππον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ πάντων οὗτοι φαυλότατοι καὶ πονηρότατοι γεγόνασι, μικρὸν ἀκούσατέ μου ἔξω τι τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπια ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν.
193 ἑστιῶν δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶν τοὺς νενικηκότας ἤρετο Σάτυρον τουτονὶ τὸν κωμικὸν ὑποκριτήν, τί δὴ μόνος οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται, ἢ τίνα ἐν ἑαυτῷ μικροψυχίαν ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀηδίαν ἐνεωρακώς. εἰπεῖν δή φασι τὸν Σάτυρον ὅτι, ὧν μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι δέονται, οὐδενὸς ὢν ἐν χρείᾳ τυγχάνει, ἃ δ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγείλαιτο ἡδέως, ῥᾷστα μέν ἐστι Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι καὶ
194 χαρίσασθαι πάντων, δέδοικε δὲ μὴ διαμάρτῃ. κελεύσαντος

'commissioned by the state')(ἰδίᾳ 'privately,' without such commission, supr. 172.

καὶ πάντων] lit. 'even all,' 'of *all*,' 'all without exception;' *n.* to § 157. Pl. *Kratyl.* 395 D τῷ δὲ Ταντάλῳ καὶ πᾶς ἂν ἡγήσαιτο τοὔνομα... ὀρθῶς τεθῆναι.

ἔξω...] 'let me mention a little circumstance unconnected with the embassy before you.' Aesch. 3. 105 reminds the Jurors that this was a πάλαισμα δικαστηρίου on the part of a defendant, οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἑτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. And so the Orators, whilst constantly doing this, as constantly protest against its being allowed to their opponents; infr. 213; Aesch. 1. 170; Lys. 12. 38; 26. 3; 16. 9 (supr. § 92 sq.). Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 41 says the object with which it was done was to put the opponent in a dilemma, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν ἀφέμενοι τῆς εἰσαγγελίας περὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος κατηγορηθέντων ἀπολογῶνται, ἁπαντῶσιν οἱ δίκασται 'τί ταῦθ' ἡμῖν λέγετε;' ἐὰν δὲ μηδένα λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν ποιῶνται, ὁ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς χείρων γίνηται· τῶν γὰρ κατηγορηθέντων τὸ μὴ λαβὸν ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν δικαστῶν καταλείπεται.

Ὀλύμπια...] 'celebrated Olympic games,' in the early part of B.C. 347. Grote 11. 505.

τεχνίτας] 'and to the festive assembly he brought together all kinds of artists,' especially actors. τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς οὕτω καλεῖ κωμικούς τε καὶ τραγικούς. Schol.

§ 193. **Σ. τουτονί**] 'S. our comic actor,' from whom, according to the well-known story, Dem. received valuable advice at the commencement of his career. Grote 11. 377. Aesch. 2. 156 in alluding to this makes Dem. say something very different from what we have here; ὅτι ξένους τινὰς αὐτοῦ αἰχμαλώτους σκάπτοντας ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου ἀμπελουργείῳ καὶ δεδεμένους παρὰ τὸν πότον ἐξῃτήσατο παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου. From this it is probable that Dem. when he prepared his speech for publication altered the passage in order to make the antithesis more forcible.

τουτονί] supr. 75 *note*. On ἐπαγγέλλεται after ἤρετο see Madv. 130 b: 'asked no favour,' as above § 41.

μικροψυχίαν] 'whether from having observed any meanness in him or dislike towards himself.' On the other hand μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως § 140.

μέν...δέ] 'but the favour he would himself like to ask (Madv. 136), though Philip could very easily grant and oblige him with it, he was afraid of being refused.' Madv. l. c.

δ' ἐκείνου λέγειν καί τι καὶ νεανιευσαμένου τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ποιήσει, εἰπεῖν φασὶν αὐτὸν ὅτι ἦν αὐτῷ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Πυδναῖος ξένος καὶ φίλος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δολοφονηθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖνος, φοβηθέντες οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπεξέθεντο τὰς θυγατέρας παιδία ὄντα εἰς Ὄλυνθον. αὗται τοίνυν, ἔφη, τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης αἰχμάλωτοι γεγόνασι καὶ 402
195 εἰσὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι γάμου. ταύτας, αἰτῶ σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι. βούλομαι δέ σε ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν οἵαν μοι δώσεις δωρεάν, ἂν ἄρα δῷς· ἀφ' ἧς ἐγὼ κερδανῶ μὲν οὐδέν, ἂν λάβω, προῖκα δὲ προσθεὶς ἐκδώσω, καὶ οὐ περιόψομαι παθούσας οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον οὔθ' ἡμῶν οὔτε τοῦ πατρός. ὡς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τοσοῦτον κρότον καὶ θόρυβον καὶ ἔπαινον παρὰ πάντων γενέσθαι ὥστε

§ 194. **νεανιευσαμένου**] 'On Philip bidding him speak out and adding a boastful assurance to the effect that there was nothing he would not do for him...' The verb, as also *νεανικός*, is used in a good or a bad sense corresponding to the two sides of the character of the *νεός*, his frankness, high spirit and generosity, or petulance, headstrongness, love of display, &c. (Lys. 24. 16 *ὑβρίζειν εἰκὸς...τοὺς ἔτι νέους καὶ νέαις ταῖς διανοίαις χρωμένους*): Dem. 3. 32 *μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα*: 21. 201 *τὸ δὲ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὑμῶν νεανικόν* 'a mark of spirit:' infr. 242 *νεανιεύσεται καὶ περιῶν ἐρεῖ* 'will swagger:' 21. 18 *κεφάλαια ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἑαυτῷ νεανιευμένοις* 'to all his wild pranks;' 18. 313 *ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας* 'do you display your spirit.' 18. 136 *τοῦ νεανίου τούτου* 'this fine fellow' i.e. Aeschines; Arist. *Vesp.* 1333 *κεἰ σφόδρ' εἶ νεανίας* 'insolent;' Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 27 *μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας κρίνειν μηδ' εἰς τούτους νεανιεύεσθαι.*

ξένος καὶ φ.] 'A. was his friend;' supr. 140 *note.*

ὑπεξέθεντο...εἰς Ὄ.] Thuc. 1. 89 *διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας*, i.e. *ἐντεῦθεν οἷ*: Madv. 79.

ἡλικίαν...γάμου] i.e. over fourteen years of age. In Xen. *Oecon.* 7.5 Ischomachus says of his wife *ἔτη μὲν οὔπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ*: and this may be taken as the normal age. Plato in fixing 20, Aristotle (*Pol.* 7. 16) 18, as the proper age for a woman to marry, did so to suit certain theories of their own.

§ 195. **οἵαν**] 'what sort of a present,' i.e. it would be one from which he would gain no personal profit or advantage, as he explains; not 'what a *small* boon' as Sh. translates.

ἂν ἄρα] 'if you *do* grant it.' For the explanation added *ἀσυνδέτως* see § 53: Thuc. 1. 89 *τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὐξήθησαν ἐπειδή*: Thuc. 1. 128. 2; 4. 67. 3, and *passim.*

προῖκα...προσθεὶς] 'besides not making any profit, I will give them in marriage with portions.' *ἐπιδούς* is the regular word. Sh. quotes 45. 35 *προστιθεὶς προῖκα*, and Eur. *Hipp.* 628. There is another instance in Hyper. *pr. Lycoph.* col. 11 (Blass.) *εὐθὺς ἐξεδόθη τάλαντον ἀργυρίου προσθέντος αὐτῇ Εὐφήμου.*

περιόψομαι παθούσας] Cf. supr. § 84 *note.*

ὡς δ' ἀκοῦσαι continues the narrative begun § 194 *εἰπεῖν φασὶν αὐτόν.* So infr. 306 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀκοῦσαι*: Madv. 169 b.

τὸν Φίλιππον παθεῖν τι καὶ δοῦναι. καίτοι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἦν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Φιλίππου
196 οὗτος ὁ Ἀπολλοφάνης. ἐξετάσωμεν δὴ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Σατύρου τοῦτο συμπόσιον τὸ τούτων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γενόμενον, καὶ θεάσασθε εἰ παραπλήσιον τούτῳ καὶ ὅμοιον. κληθέντες γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς Ξενόφρονα τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φαιδίμου τοῦ τῶν τριάκοντα ᾤχοντο· ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐπορεύθην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἧκον εἰς τὸ πίνειν, εἰσάγει τινὰ Ὀλυνθίαν γυναῖκα, εὐπρεπῆ μὲν
197 ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ σώφρονα, ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐδήλωσεν. ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐτωσὶ πίνειν ἡσυχῇ καὶ τρώγειν ἠνάγκαζον οὗτοί μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς διηγεῖτο Ἰατροκλῆς ἐμοὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· ὡς

παθεῖν τι] 'was affected.' Xen. *Conv.* 1. 9 *τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου*: Dem. 18. 291 *οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ*: Arist. *Rhet.* quoted on § 83.

Alexander, the elder brother of Perdiccas and Philip, was assassinated by Ptolemy Auletes and his agents at a court revel. Athen. 14. 629 *τελεσιάς· Μακεδονικὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ὄρχησις ᾗ χρησάμενοι οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου ἀδελφὸν ἀνεῖλον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μαρσύας ἐν τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῶν.* Apollophanes was most probably, as Thirl. remarks, murdered by the friends of Alexander—perhaps by agents of Perdiccas—during the regency of Ptolemy Auletes when he could not be brought to justice. Thirl. 5. 162; Grote 11. 294.

§ 196. **πρός**] Cf. 1. 11 *note*; 'Now let us contrast with this of S. another banquet, that at which these men figured, held in M. and see whether it bears any likeness or resemblance to it.'

παραπλήσιον...καὶ ὅμοιον] supr. 63.

After *θεάσασθε* S. has *ωs*, whence Bekk. st. and Vömm. read *ὡs*, which is also in L. This would be more directly ironical.

Φαιδίμου] Xenophon (*Hell.* 2. 3. 2) calls him *Φαιδρίας*. The mistake is doubtless due to the orator himself.

εἰς τὸ πίνειν] Cf. on § 128.

εὐπρεπῆ] 'goodlooking, but a gentlewoman and modest, as the event showed,' the words implying that *à priori* this would not have been looked for in an *εὐπρεπής* brought in under such circumstances. Compare the scene in Xen. *Conv.* c. 2.

τὸ ἔργον ἐδήλωσεν] 56. 13 *ἐδήλωσε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον*: Arist. *Lysist.* 377 *τοὔργον τάχ' αὐτὸ δείξει.* But more commonly either *τὸ ἔργον* is omitted, 2. 20 *note*, or *ἐδήλωσε* used by itself. Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 32 *ἐδήλωσε δέ· ἐπεὶ γάρ...*: Her. 1. 73 *ὡς διέδεξε*; 2. 134; 3. 82.

§ 197. **οὐτωσὶ πίνειν**] 'merely to drink,' 'just to drink;' supr. 155; *n.* to 1. 20. 'At first these men I believe merely tried to make her drink quietly and eat dessert,' a sense in which *τρώγω* is often used. Cf. Becker *Charicles*, p. 252 E. Tr. Pherecrates (Athen. 3. 75 B) *τῶν φιβάλεων τρῶγε σύκων τοῦ θέρους*; id. (Athen. 4. 159 C) *σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν εἰσφερε καὶ κύλικα κἀντραγεῖν, ἵν' ἥδιον πίω*: Anaxilas (Athen. 12. 548 C) *βολβοὺς τρώγων*: Menander (Athen. 14. 651) *τῶν ῥοιδίων ἐτρώγομεν*: Pl. *Rep.* 2. 372 C. Theophr. *Char.* c. 14 notes it as a mark of the *βδελυρός*, *πληθούσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ κάρυα ἢ τὰ μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα ἑστηκὼς τραγηματίζεσθαι, ἅμα τῷ πωλοῦντι προσλαλῶν.*

δὲ προῄει τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διεθερμαίνοντο, κατακλίνεσθαι καί τι καὶ ᾄδειν ἐκέλευον. ἀδημονούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὔτε ἐθελούσης οὔτε ἐπισταμένης, ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔφασαν οὑτοσὶ καὶ ὁ Φρύνων καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν τρυφᾶν· καὶ "κάλει παῖδα," καὶ "ἱμάντα τις φερέτω." ἧκεν οἰκέτης ἔχων ῥυτῆρα, καὶ πεπωκότων οἶμαι καὶ μικρῶν ὄντων τῶν παρο- 403
ξυνόντων, εἰπούσης τι καὶ δακρυσάσης ἐκείνης περιρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ὁ οἰκέτης ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολλάς.
198 ἔξω δ' αὐτῆς οὖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἡ γυνὴ ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τῷ Ἰατροκλεῖ, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέπει. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀφείλετο, ἀπώλετ' ἂν παροινουμένη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ παροινία τοῦ καθάρ-

ἀδημονούσης] 'the woman was greatly agitated,' 'sorely distressed.' Buttm. *Lexil.* p. 29 derives the word from *α* and *δῆμος*, and compares the German 'nicht daheim seyn' 'not to be at home,' and 'mir ist unheimlich' 'I am not at home here.' But this is fanciful. Cf. Dr Thompson's note on Pl. *Phaedr.* 251 D. Observe the dramatic association of Phrynon, of whose character he speaks so unfavourably (§§ 230, 233), with Aeschines in the scene of brutal violence.

ἀλιτηρίων] absolutely, carrying on the *θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν*, 'that a captive woman, one of the miscreant, the accursed O., should give herself airs.' The word at Athens had a particular application. Thuc. 1. 126; Arist. *Eq.* 445 *ἐκ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων σέ φημι γεγονέναι τῆς θεοῦ* i.e. the Alcmaeonidae.

τρυφᾶν] 'delicias facere,' applied to the people 9. 4 *τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν*: Aesch. 3. 20 *οἱ δ' ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι*; to spoiled children Pl. *Laches* 179 D. Hence of the spirit so engendered Arist. *Ran.* 21 *εἶτ' οὐχ ὕβρις ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πολλὴ τρυφή*: Pl. *Gorg.* 525 A *ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς* (pride) *καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀκρατίας τῶν πράξεων.*

ῥυτῆρα] 'a strap.' For the same purpose Ajax in Sophocles (*Aj.* 240) *μέγαν ἱπποδέτην ῥυτῆρα λαβὼν παίει.* Aesch. 2. 157 in referring to this charge makes Dem. say *ἔλκοιμι τῶν τριχῶν καὶ λαβὼν ῥυτῆρα μαστιγοίην αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα.*

δακρυσάσης] an *ingressive* aorist. Cf. Madv. 111 d, whose observation must be extended to verbs expressing emotions, feelings and states of mind, as *δείσας, θαμβήσας, ὑποτοπεύσας* &c.; 'and as they had drunk deep, I suppose, and it takes but a trifle to exasperate them, on her saying something and bursting into tears...'

πολλάς] sc. *πληγάς*, a common ellipse.

§ 198. **ἔξω...αὐτῆς**] 34. 35 *ὅσα εἶπε ...οὐκ ἐντὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ φησιν εἰπεῖν*: Soph. *Phil.* 950 *ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔτ' ἐν σαυτῷ* (? *σαυτοῦ*) *γενοῦ*: Arist. *Vesp.* 642 *σκορδινᾶται κἄστιν οὐκ ἐν αὑτοῦ*: Pl. *Charm.* c. 4: 'the woman put beside herself by the pain and her treatment sprang up and threw herself at the knees of Iatrocles,' who was one of the envoys and Aeschines' messmate on the embassy.

παροινουμένη] 'She would have lost her life from his drunken violence.' As verbs which express an immediate action upon an object, i.e.

ματος τουτουὶ δεινή. καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λόγος ἦν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις, καὶ Διόφαντος ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλεν ἃ νῦν μαρτυρεῖν αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσω, καὶ κατὰ Θετταλίαν πολὺς λόγος καὶ πανταχοῦ.

199 *Καὶ τοιαῦτα συνειδὼς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα ὁ ἀκάθαρτος οὗτος τολμήσει βλέπειν εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὸν βεβιωμένον αὐτῷ βίον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλ' ἐρεῖ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ· ἐφ' οἷς ἔγωγε ἀποπνίγομαι. οὐκ ἴσασιν οὗτοι τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰς βίβλους*

are directly transitive, alone admit, according to strict rule, of a passive construction, which is merely the transitive relation reversed, and *παροινέω* is always intransitive (L. and S. in their last ed. still erroneously refer to 54. 4 *ταύτην ἂν [ὥραν] ἤδη ἐπαρώνουν οὗτοι, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ...εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἡμῶν*, as proving the contrary), we have in *παροινουμένη* an instance of a not uncommon irregularity. The student may follow out the subject by consulting Madv. 26 a; 27 a; 35 b. r. 3; 36 a. r. 4; 56 r. 2; and his *Lat. Gr.* § 244 b. Aeschines refers to this charge at the very beginning of his speech, and tells us that the audience hissed Dem. *ἤσθην δ' ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτίας ὄντα ταύτης ἐξεβάλετε* § 2. He refers to the matter again in § 153, and again asserts *μεταξὺ...λέγων ὑφ' ὑμῶν* (this can hardly mean more than a manifestation of feeling on the part of his friends among the Jurors) *ἐξερρίφη· τὸν γὰρ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότα τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τοὺς εἰδότας διέβαλλε.* But it is noticeable that though he produces, or professes to produce, an Olynthian, Aristophanes, as a witness deposing that Demosthenes offered him a heavy bribe if he would come forward and state that it was his wife who had been ill-treated, he had not learnt this directly from Aristophanes himself (§ 155); nor does he deny that he was present, or that such a scene took place, or allude to D.'s statement that he had his information from Iatrocles and that Diophantus made a report on the subject in the Assembly, or lastly, offer, as he does in answer to the charge that he visited Philip by night, to call his fellow-ambassadors to clear him. It seems probable therefore that some such scene occurred as that here described by Demosthenes.

ἐν τοῖς μ. before whom Aeschines had lately appeared as envoy; supr. § 11.

Διόφαντος] supr. § 86.

§§ 199—200. *Notwithstanding all this he will look you in the face and talk of the life he has led—a man of his antecedents!*

τὸν βεβιωμένον] Madv. 26.

ἐρεῖ] 'jactabit;' 'he will presently raise his voice and talk of the life he has led.' 20. 151 *οὗτος ἴσως ἐρεῖ τριηραρχίας*: 21. 151 *ὅτι πλουτεῖ καὶ τριηραρχίας ἐρεῖ*: 36. 41 *ἀλαζονεύσεται καὶ τριηραρχίας ἐρεῖ καὶ χορηγίας*: 38. 25. Aesch. (2. 4) says that from the way in which the Jurors had received the charge *τῶν σεσωφρονημένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ μοι χάριν ἀπειληφέναι νομίζω.*

τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς] 18. 322; *τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* 20. 148; *τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς* 9. 21; 'that you began life with reading the service books for your mother at her initiations:' infr. 249. Years afterwards Dem. was able to give much fuller details. In 18. 258 he says that as a boy Ae. waited with his father upon the school (infr. 249), grinding the ink, sponging the forms, sweeping the room and holding the position of a menial not of a boy of free birth, *ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκε καὶ τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ*, the *τὸ ἐξ*

ἀναγιγνώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ, καὶ παῖδα ὄντα ἐν
200 θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις κυλινδούμενον, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπογραμματεύοντα καὶ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν δραχμῶν πονηρὸν ὄντα, τὰ τελευταῖα δ' ἔναγχος ἐν χορηγίοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπὶ τῷ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀγαπητῶς παρατρεφόμενον; ποῖον οὖν ἐρεῖς βίον ὃν οὐ βεβίωκας, ἐπεὶ ὅ γε βεβιωμένος σοι τοιοῦτος φαίνεται; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας· οὗτος ἄλλον ἔκρινε παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ. ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὰς μαρτυρίας μοι λέγε πρῶτον ταυτασί.

ἀρχῆς and the παῖδα ὄντα of the older account having become ἀνήρ in the later; and he charges him with having got enrolled among his δημόται by improper means. Aeschines retaliates (2. 150) by an equally preposterous assertion about Dem., whom he taunts with ingratitude to his (Ae.'s) father-in-law Philodemus δι' ὃν εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι Παιανιῶν.

τὰς βίβλους] containing the *carmina* used in the initiations, 18. l. c. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 364 B sq.; Isocr. 19. 5.

ἐν θιάσοις] 18. 260; 'were rolled about among troops of devotees and drunken people.' The insinuation conveyed in this is obvious; 18. 261 πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας.

§ 200. **ὑπογραμματεύοντα**] Cf. on § 98 and § 70.

τὰ τ. δ' ἔναγχος] as 4. 17 τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην: Ps. D. 42. 3 τὰ τελευταῖα νυνί: Thuc. 1. 24 τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Madv. 19. r. 3. 'And only the other day you were picking up a precarious living for your services as a player of third parts in other people's training rooms;' far from being in a position to act as χορηγός, you were glad to be employed in the lowest grade of the profession: cp. 18. 265.

The **χορηγεῖον** or χορήγιον (Antiph. 6. 11 διδασκαλεῖον) was the room in which the chorus was trained at the expense of the Choragus. Antiph. l. c. διδασκαλεῖον ᾗ ἦν ἐπιτηδειότατον τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασα, ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ Διονυσίοις ὅτε ἐχορήγουν ἐδίδασκον 'I had them trained.'

ἀγαπητῶς] infr. 219; Aesch. 2. 77 ἀγαπητῶς τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι: Lys. 16. 16 ἀγαπητῶς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σεσωσμένους: Dem. 3. 30.

For **παρατρεφόμενον** 'living at another man's expense' cf. L. and S. s. v. Of the patron, Timocles (Athen. 6. 243) says παρέτρεφεν τὸν βουλόμενον, and Ephippus (Athen. 14. 642) καὶ γὰρ παραμασύντας τινὰς παραβόσκομεν: Eubulus (Athen. 3. p. 113) ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων παραδειπνίδες.

ἐπεί...] 'when that you *have* lived is found to be such.' τοιοῦτος ὤν Sh.; ὤν om. S, L, Bekk. st., Vöm., Dind. Cf. 20. 18 ψεῦδος ἂν φανείη: ib. 20 φανήσεται...ἄξιον: 23. 64; Thuc. 4. 34; Xen. *Conv.* 3. 8 φαῦλος φανοῦμαι: *Anab.* 3. 1. 36 κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθόμους: 5. 6. 13 ἥττους ληφθησόμεθα.

ἀλλὰ δή] 'But see,' 'but only think of his impudence,' 'the license he allows himself.' Aesch. (1. 136) admits that he had been and still was *erotic*, and τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος γεγενημένας πρὸς ἑτέρους φιλονεικίας καὶ μάχας οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι μὴ οὐχὶ συμβεβηκέναι μοι, but there is no ground for the charge here made, which with as little reason he retorts against his adversary.

ἀλλὰ μήπω τ.] Lat. 'verum illa mox' (Cic. *de Orat.* 1. § 148), 'but of this presently.' 18. 100 ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων: 21. 90 ἀλλὰ μήπω τοῦτο.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ. 40

201 Τοσούτων τοίνυν καὶ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὧν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐξελήλεγκται, ἐν οἷς τί κακὸν οὐκ ἔνι; δωροδόκος, κόλαξ, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἔνοχος, ψεύστης, τῶν φίλων προδότης, πάντ' ἔνεστι τὰ δεινότατα· πρὸς ἓν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τούτων ἀπολογήσεται, οὐδ' ἕξει δικαίαν οὐδ' ἁπλῆν εἰπεῖν ἀπολογίαν οὐδεμίαν. ἃ δ' ἐγὼ πέπυσμαι μέλλειν αὐτὸν λέγειν, ἔστι μὲν ἐγγυτάτω μανίας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως τῷ μηδὲν ἔχοντι δίκαιον ἄλλ' εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη πάντα μηχανᾶσθαι.

202 ἀκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ πάντων ὧν κατηγορῶ κοινωνὸς γέγονα, καὶ συνήρεσκε ταῦτά μοι, καὶ συνέπραττον

§§ 201—205. *Though the crimes proved against him are so many and heinous, I hear he means, not to refute my charges, but to urge against me that I was a partner in all I denounce. But this, even if true, is no justification of his conduct. The only fair and honest defence is for him to show either that my charges are untrue or that what has been done benefited the state.*

ὧν] i. e. *τούτων ἃ*: 'which he has been proved to have committed against you;' Madv. 178 a.

ἐν οἷς τί...] Isocr. 15. 317 *ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεταβολῆς τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνέπεσε τῇ πόλει*; Dem. 18. 48 *ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων*: Ps. D. 25. 50; 37. 14. *ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τούτου καὶ πολλὰ δεηθέντος ἐμοῦ καὶ τί οὐ ποιήσαντος.* 'And what that is bad do they not contain? a taker of bribes, a flatterer, under the curses...all the worst crimes are included,' the words *ἐν οἷς...δεινότατα* being parenthetic.

ταῖς ἀραῖς] supr. § 70; 20. 107; 23. 97; Dein. 1. 46 *ὃς* (Demosthenes) *ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀραῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνομέναις ἔνοχος καθέστηκεν.*

ἓν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν] 'to not a single item of this will he offer a defence.' Sch. quotes 23. 70 *ἓν γὰρ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔνι τούτων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.* Comp. 21. 12 *ἓν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν.* Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 2. § 43 'item verendum est ne de aliâ re dicatur, cum aliâ de re controversia sit, inque ejus modi vitio considerandum est, ne aut ad rem addatur quid, aut quippiam de re detrahatur, aut tota causa mutata in aliam causam derivetur.' Cf. § 72 sq.: infr. 213; 337; 22. 4, 42 sq.; Aesch. 3. 205. Observe *πέπυσμαι* followed by *ἀκούω* as 54. 39 *πέπυσμαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης. Ἀκούω γάρ...*'

μὲν...οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'] supr. 135; 'borders on madness, though perhaps one who has no other plea to urge is obliged to try every device.'

§ 202. **ὡς ἄρα...γέγονα**] This passage refutes Cobet's idea that in such cases the optative is absolutely necessary; 'prorsus est necessarius si quis quid ab alio dictum esse refert quod ipso judice mendacium est; in quâ re multi addunt *ἄρα*...Idem remedium expectat Dem. 21. 104 *ἐτόλμα περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν ὡς ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰμὶ τοῦτο δεδρακώς.*' *Nov. Lect.* p. 335. Cf. 8. 4 and 73 *τινὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοιοῦτό τι λέγοντος, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα...*; 21. 110 (*αἴτιός εἰμι*); 22. 2; Pl. *Apol.* 18 B; Dem. 18. 132. Madv. 130 b. This charge Aeschines repeatedly makes; 2. 20 *ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔνστασις τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐγένετο οὐ δι' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ Φιλοκράτους*; ib. 54 *τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ Φιλοκράτους κοινωνίαν*; ib. 56;

αὐτῷ, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβληται καὶ κατηγορῶ. ἔστι δ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων οὔτε δικαία οὔτε προσήκουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ἀπολογία, ἐμοῦ μέντοι τις κατηγορία· ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, εἰ ταῦτα πεποίηκα, φαῦλός εἰμι ἄνθρωπος, τὰ δὲ πράγ-
203 ματα οὐδὲν βελτίω διὰ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' οἶμαί μοι προσήκειν ἀμφότερ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, καὶ ὅτι ψεύσεται ταῦτ' ἐὰν λέγῃ, καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀπολογία. ἡ μὲν τοίνυν δικαία καὶ ἁπλῆ, ἣ ὡς οὐ πέπρακται τὰ κατηγορημένα δεῖξαι, ἣ ὡς πεπραγμένα συμφέρει τῇ
204 πόλει. τούτων δ' οὐδέτερον δύναιτ' ἂν οὗτος ποιῆσαι. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς συμφέρει δήπου Φωκέας ἀπολωλέναι καὶ Πύλας Φίλιππον ἔχειν καὶ Θηβαίους ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ στρατιώτας εἶναι καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ ἀνώμοτον εἶναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔνεστι λέγειν αὐτῷ, οἷς τότε τἀναντία ἀπήγγειλε 405
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς συμφέροντα καὶ γενησόμενα· οὔθ' ὡς οὐ πέπρακται ταῦτα, δυνήσεται πεῖσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑωρακότας

forgetting what he had said in his speech against Timarchus § 174 *ψέγων τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην*. And in his speech against Ktesiphon he accuses Philocrates and Dem. of being bribed by Philip and of having acted together on the embassy, Dem. at last, when he saw how things were going, turning round and attacking Philocrates and the rest in order to screen himself, ib. 81 sq. Well might Dem. say 18. 294 *ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι;*

ὧν κατηγορῶ] 'which I make matter of accusation;' cf. on § 9.

§ 203. οὐδὲ π. δεῖ] supr. 30.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'] goes back to *ἔστι δ' ὑπὲρ μέν...*; 'nevertheless I consider it incumbent on me to show both that he will lie if he says this and what the proper defence for him to make is.' Observe the very rare attraction *τὴν δικαίαν...ἀπολογία*, for the more ordinary *τὴν δ. ἀπολογίαν ἥτις ἐστίν* or *ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ δ. ἀπολογία*, or *ἡ δ. ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀπολογία*. Vöm. quotes 18.16 *ἑτέρῳδ' ὅτῳ κακόντι δώσομεν ζητεῖν*, and Lys. 19. 47 *τὴν οὐσίαν ἣν κατέλιπε τῷ υἱεῖ, οὐ πλείονος ἀξία ἐστίν*. Soph. *Trach.* 97, adduced by Sh., more nearly resembles this passage, *Ἅλιον αἰτῶ τοῦτο καρῦξαι τὸν Ἀλκμήνας, πόθι μοι παῖς ναίει.*

§ 204. **Θ. ἰσχύειν**] supr. § 64 *note*.

ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ] Cf. 9. 33, 58; supr. 83, 87; infr. 326.

Μεγάροις] 9. 17, 27; supr. 87; infr. 334.

ἀνώμοτον] 'the peace to be unsworn.' Sch. rightly refers this to the delay in taking the oaths from the King, which led, as the Orator so often insists, to the loss of the towns in Thrace. Dobree objects that Dem. is here referring to what occurred after the return of the Envoys. True; but to this only as being in direct contradiction to the promises held out on the part of Philip. For surely he is here speaking of *τὰ κατηγορημένα*, among which the charge of having injured the State by neglecting to administer the oaths at once is very prominent; cf. 155 sq.

οἷς τότε τἀν.] Cf. §§ 20 and 112.

αὐτοὺς...ὑμᾶς] 'what you have yourselves seen.'

205 ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ εἰδότας. οὐκοῦν ὡς οὐ κεκοινώνηκα τούτοις οὐδενός, λοιπόν μοι δεῖξαι. βούλεσθ' οὖν ὑμῖν, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφείς, ἃ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀντεῖπον, ἃ ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ προσέκρουον, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἠναντίωμαι, αὐτοὺς παράσχωμαι μάρτυρας τούτους ὅτι πάντα τἀναντία ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις πέπρακται, καὶ χρήματα οὗτοι μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησα λαβεῖν; θεάσασθε δή.

206 Τίνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φήσαιτ' ἂν βδελυρώτατον εἶναι καὶ πλείστης ἀναιδείας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας μεστόν; οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν ἁμαρτὼν ὑμῶν ἄλλον εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φήσειεν ἢ Φιλοκράτην. τίνα δὲ φθέγγεσθαι μέγιστον ἁπάντων καὶ σαφέσταθ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιτο τῇ φωνῇ; Αἰσχίνην οἶδ' ὅτι τουτονί. τίνα δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἄτολμον καὶ δειλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους

§ 205. **ἃ παρ' ὑμῖν**] Cf. §§ 18, 23.

ἃ προσέκρουον] Cf. in particular § 156.

παράσχωμαι] with *βούλεσθε*, 'would you like me to produce.' Madv. 123 r. 5.

ἐφ' ὑμῖν] 'have taken money against you,' 'to work your hurt.' Dein. 2. 16 *ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφέρουσι δῶρα δέχεται*; Hyper. *c. Dem. fragm.* 10. p. 13 Blass. *ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι τῆς πόλεως δῶρα εἰλήφασι*; ib. *fragm.* 12 *εἰληφέναι εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.*

§§ 206—212. *That I had no connection with them is proved by the fact that neither Philocrates nor Aeschines ever ventured to contradict me on any of the occasions on which I laid all this to their charge. And on a late occasion Ae., instead of boldly taxing me with complicity in their doings, confined himself to vague threats, and did not come forward to accuse me when I gave an account of my conduct on the second embassy.*

ὀλιγωρίας] 'disregard of the feelings and sentiments of others,' 'disregard of public opinion:' Isocr. 7. 51 *δι' ἣν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀκολασίαις ταύταις διατρίβειν... ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προτρέψαντες ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ὀλιγωρίας*; 12. 111 *παραβάλλοντες* (at Sparta) *τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ πειθαρχίαν, πρὸς τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν ὀλιγωρίας.* Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 2. 3 defines ὀλιγωρία to be *ἐνέργεια δόξης περὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἄξιον φαινόμενον...τρία δ' ἐστὶν εἴδη...καταφρόνησίς τε καὶ ἐπηρεασμὸς καὶ ὕβρις.* This 'effrontery and disregard of public opinion' Ph. showed by doing what Dem. as *εὐλαβής* shrank from, *οὐδὲν γὰρ... βεβίασμαι.*

ἂν ἁμαρτών] 'not even by mistake.'

ἂν εἰπεῖν] in the *or. rect.* *ἂν εἴποι*; 'and what that man would you say speaks loudest and could utter whatever he likes with the clearest voice?' *n.* to 337.

ἄτολμον] He refers to this taunt again in 8. 68, a speech delivered in the spring of B.C. 341, *οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις γράφειν οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἄτολμος εἶ καὶ μαλακός. Ἐγὼ δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὔτ' εἰμὶ μήτε γενοίμην.* Sch. thinks that *πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους* is an uncomplimentary expression which Dem. would not have used if he had been speaking in his own person. I do not agree. *οἱ ὄχλοι* are merely the assembly, and other large gatherings, with their noise, interruptions (Arist. *Acharn.* 38, quoted on § 24; Dem. 21. 194), rough and wayward humours (Cic. *pr. Mur.* ch. 17), which, according

φασὶν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' εὐλαβῆ; ἐμέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ πώποτ' οὔτ'
207 ἠνώχλησα οὔτε μὴ βουλομένους ὑμᾶς βεβίασμαι. οὐκοῦν ἐν
πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὁσάκις λόγος γέγονε περὶ τούτων,
καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ἀκούετέ μου καὶ ἐλέγχοντος ἀεὶ τούτους
καὶ λέγοντος ἄντικρυς ὅτι χρήματ' εἰλήφασι καὶ πάντα
πεπράκασι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς
πώποτ' ἀκούων ταῦτ' ἀντεῖπεν οὐδὲ διῆρε τὸ στόμα, οὐδ'
208 ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι οἱ βδελυρώ-
τατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μέγιστον φθεγγόμενοι τοῦ καὶ
ἀτολμοτάτου πάντων ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδενὸς μεῖζον φθεγγομένου 406
τοσοῦτον ἡττῶνται; ὅτι τἀληθὲς ἰσχυρόν, καὶ τοὐναντίον

to his adversaries, Dem. had not the nerve to confront and bear down. Comp. what Isocrates says of himself 5. 81 *οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν ἔσχον ἱκανὴν οὔτε τόλμαν δυναμένην ὄχλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κυλινδουμένοις*: 12. 10 *ἐνδεὴς ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενόμην τῶν μεγίστην ἐχόντων δύναμιν παρ' ὑμῖν, φωνῆς ἱκανῆς καὶ τόλμης.*

ἠνώχλησα] 'in no way was I ever troublesome to you—in no way have I ever forced myself upon you against your inclinations.' Dobr. well compares 21. 189 *ἄχρι τοῦ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐνοχλεῖν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι* 'or intruding myself upon you' (cf. on 327). Cf. also 23. 4 *οὐχὶ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων*; Isocr. 5. 12 *ὅτι τὸ μὲν ταῖς παρηγύρεσιν ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς οὐδένα λέγειν ἐστίν.* Observe the juxtaposition of the Aorist and Perfect, which, as *ἠνώχληκα* is also used, can hardly admit of any other explanation than that suggested on § 1. Cf. infr. 260 *πεποίηκε...καὶ ἐνέπλησε*; 20. 3 *πολλάκις ἐξαπατηθέντες κεχειροτονήκατε καὶ συμμάχους ἤδη...ἐπείσθητε ἑλέσθαι*; Ps. D. 7. 32 *Φεραίων μὲν ἀφῄρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν*; 21. 91 *ἐπειδὴ ... ἐνέπλησεν...ἐκεῖνο ἐποίησε, τὴν καταδίκην ἐκτέτικε.* (It is strange that no good MS. has *ἠγανάκτησα* in 21. 109 *ἐνήνοχα καὶ μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτηκα.*) Though Hyperides uses forms and inflexions unusual in writing, it is difficult to believe that *καθέστακα* in *pr. Eux.* 29 can have been then used even in conversation. I believe it to be as barbarous in Hyperides as it is in Dem. 9. 26, where Reiske adopted it from Dionysius. I have no doubt an Attic Orator must have said *τίνας οὖν κέκρικα καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνα κατέστησα.* The *κάθῃ δουλίς, πωλή, ἔμβραχυ, μητρυιός*, &c., which we find in Hyperides, stand on quite a different footing. Cf. *n.* to § 1 *συνήγαγον*, and § 178 *ἐπέδειξα.* In such cases we should naturally tr. the aorist by our definite perfect as a matter of idiom and not because it may chance to be accompanied by *πολλάκις* or the like, which can make no difference in the nature or sense of the tense, and moreover often accompany the perfect. Comp. Eur. *Med.* 1050 *πολλάκις ἤδη διὰ λεπτοτέρων μύθων ἔμολον*, and *Alc.* 962 *ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας καὶ μετάρσιος ᾖξα* with Arist. *Eq.* 1290 (quoted by Sh.) *ἢ πολλάκις ἐννυχίαισι φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι*, and Dem. 20. 3 quoted above.

διῆρε τὸ στόμα] Cf. § 112.

§ 208. **τὸ αἴτιον**] 'What then can be the cause?' 3. 30; 8. 36; without the article 9. 36, 63.

οὐδενὸς μεῖζον] supr. § 35 and 116; 'no louder than anyone else.'

ἀσθενὲς τὸ συνειδέναι πεπρακόσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα. τοῦτο παραιρεῖται τὴν θρασύτητα τὴν τούτων· τοῦτ' ἀποστρέφει τὴν γλῶτταν, ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν
209 ποιεῖ. τὸ τοίνυν τελευταῖον ἴστε δήπου πρῴην ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ὅτ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰᾶτε πρεσβεύειν, βοῶντα ὡς εἰσαγγελεῖ με καὶ γράψεται καὶ ἰοὺ ἰού. καίτοι ταῦτα μέν ἐστι μακρῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ λόγων ἀρχή, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἁπλᾶ καὶ δύ' ἢ τρία ἴσως ῥήματα, ἃ κἂν ἐχθὲς ἐωνημένος ἄνθρωπος εἰπεῖν ἠδυνήθη, "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πάν-

πεπρακόσιν] 'the consciousness that they have sold your interests is weak.' Madv. 178 r. 7. Cf. what is said in § 34.

ἀποστρέφει] The words fall into two pairs as 9. 73 *συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν*; 8. 69 *κρίνει, δημεύει, δίδωσι, κατηγορεῖ*; 18. 246 *τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας, ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας*; 20. 78 *οὐ πόλιν, οὐ φρούριον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ στρατιώτην*; 22. 71; 24. 101 *δῆμον, ἱππέας, βουλήν, ἱερὰ ὅσια* (which combine as one term); 24. 119; Ps. D. 25. 9; 39. 34. Sometimes this symmetry is departed from by the addition of a weaker general term; Ps. D. 25. 94 *πάντα ποιεῖν, αἰτιᾶσθαι, λέγειν, διαβάλλειν, βλασφημεῖν, θανάτου τιμᾶσθαι, εἰσαγγέλλειν, κακολογεῖν*. Above § 178 the comprehensive *οὐδὲν ἐλλελοιπότα μοχθηρίας* closes the series, as *ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας* in 24. 91 *ὅλως δ' ἐπιδείκνυσι μάτην ὀμνύντας, τιμῶντας, δικάζοντας, ὀργιζομένους, ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς*; 1. 9 *Ηὔδνα, Ποτίδαια, Μεθώνη, Παγασαί, τἄλλα*; 9. 49 *ψιλοὺς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ...στρατόπεδον*: supr. 156; infr. 215.

ἄγχει] This verb is confined in Attic prose to Demosthenes. Veitch, p. 12.

§ 209. **τὸ τ. πρῴην**] Cf. § 200; 'Again you know of course on the late occasion in the Piraeus when he...' This refers to the affair of Antiphon mentioned at length in 18. 132 sq. Thirl. 6. 27. The reason why Dem. does not here enter more fully into the matter may have been because the interference of the Areopagus at his instigation was viewed by the people with some jealousy, as they had acquitted Antiphon and appointed Aeschines envoy. Deinarchus brings it up against him twenty years afterwards at his trial, B.C. 324, *ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι* (the Jurors) *τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες* (Dein. 1. 63).

οὐκ εἰᾶτε] 'You would not allow him to go as envoy,' appointing Hyperides in his room. This, according to 18. 134, was really the act of the Areopagus.

εἰσαγγελεῖ] from the *or. rect.* *εἰσαγγελῶ*; Madv. 132 b; 'shouting that he would impeach and indict me, and 'scandalous,' 'scandalous.'' Ps. D. 25. 47 *βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς καὶ ἰοὺ ἰού*.

ἐκεῖνα refers, as *passim*, to what follows: 'but all this (impeachment and indictment) is the beginning of long and tedious contests and arguments (and therefore to threaten them was only to put the matter off indefinitely), but this (i. e. what I am going to mention) is simple, and but two or three words perhaps, which even a slave bought yesterday might have spoken.' For other exx. of the passive use of *ἐωνημένος* see Veitch s.v.; Jelf, 368. 3.—Bekk. st. and the Zurich editors omit the words *ἢ μετειληφώς* ('when he has taken it by himself or along with others'), which are in all the best MSS. and otherwise objectionable; cf. § 167 *προσπέμπων ἰδίᾳ...τὰ κοινῇ δοθέντα*.

δεινον ἐστίν· οὑτοσὶ κατηγορεῖ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ ὧν αὐτὸς κοινωνὸς γέγονε, καὶ χρήματ' εἰληφέναι φησὶν ἐμὲ αὐτὸς εἰληφὼς ἢ
210 *μετειληφώς." τούτων μὲν τοίνυν οὐδὲν εἶπεν οὐδ' ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ὑμῶν οὐδείς, ἄλλα δ' ἠπείλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ συνῄδει πεπραγμένα, καὶ δοῦλος ἦν τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων. οὔκουν προσῄει πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ διάνοια, ἀλλ' ἀνεδύετο· ἐπελαμβάνετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ συνειδέναι. λοιδορεῖσθαι δὲ*
211 *ἄλλ' ἄττα οὐδεὶς ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ βλασφημεῖν. ὁ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἁπάντων, καὶ οὐ λόγος ἀλλ' ἔργον· βουλομένου γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια, ὥσπερ ἐπρέσβευσα δίς, οὕτω καὶ λόγον ὑμῖν δοῦναι δίς, προσελθὼν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσὶ τοῖς λογισταῖς ἔχων μάρτυρας πολλοὺς ἀπηγόρευε μὴ καλεῖν ἐμὲ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δεδωκότα εὐθύνας καὶ οὐκ ὄντα ὑπεύθυνον. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν ὑπεργέλοιον. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τῆς προ-*
τέρας ἐκείνης πρεσβείας, ἧς οὐδεὶς κατηγόρει, δοὺς λόγον 407
οὐκέτ' ἐβούλετ' αὖθις εἰσιέναι περὶ ταύτης ἧς νῦν εἰσέρχεται,

§ 210. **δοῦλος**...] 'And he was the slave of these words,' i.e. not so independent from a consciousness of innocence as to venture to say them; 'haec in me verba jactare reformidabat ut δοῦλος ἀπαρρησίαστος cui ἡ γλῶσσα δέδεται; nam si in me jactaret suo se gladio jugulaturus erat.' Sch.

ἀνεδύετο] 'therefore his resolution never came up to them, but kept shrinking back, for conscience (his consciousness that he had so acted) arrested it' every time it approached the subject.

λ...**ἄλλ' ἄττα**] i.e. which had no connection with the matter in hand; which were ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος and intended to draw attention away from the real point; 'from indulging in general abuse.' Madv. 27.

§ 211. **ὁ...γάρ**] Madv. 197: 'I come now to the most important thing of all, a matter not of argument but of fact: When I wanted to do what was right, namely as...' Some MSS. have ἤδη after ἔργον as in 21. 79 ὁ δ' οὖν δεινότατον καὶ οὐ λόγος ἀλλ' ἔργον ἤδη.—On the Logistae see *Gr. & R. Ant.* s. v. Εὔθυνη.

ἀπηγόρευε μή] But below § 212 the simple inf. is used; Madv. 210; 'warned them not to,' 'gave them notice not to summon me before the Court.' Ae. seems to have argued that having passed his audit on his return from his first embassy, he was not called on to render an account of his conduct on the second, which was a mere continuation of the other and dealt with matters already settled, ἡ μὲν προτέρα πρεσβεία τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον (for accusing him) εἶχεν, ἡ δ' ὑστέρα ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις ἐγίγνετο (2. 123). With the exception of Philocrates, against whom Hyperides proceeded by εἰσαγγελία, the rest of the envoys seem to have passed this audit without opposition, perhaps at the same time as Demosthenes; cf. § 118. Aeschines expressly says 2. 178 δέκατος δ' αὐτὸς πρεσβεύσας μόνος τὰς εὐθύνας δίδωμι.

ἧς (i.e. ἥν)...**εἰσέρχεται**] 'he did not wish to appear before the Court again for that on which he is now tried, which included all his crimes.' The phrase is used of both parties—of the plaintiff 28. 17 ὡς γὰρ τὰς δί-

212 ἐν ᾗ πάντα τἀδικήματ' ἐνῆν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δὶς ἐμὲ εἰσελθεῖν ἀνάγκη περιίστατο καὶ τούτῳ πάλιν εἰσιέναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἴα καλεῖν. καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι σαφῶς, καὶ κατεγνωκόθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτον, ὥστε μηδενὶ νῦν ὑμῶν εὐσεβῶς ἔχειν ἀποψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐροῦντα περὶ ἐμοῦ· εἰ γὰρ εἶχε, τότ' ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ κατηγορῶν ἐξητάζετο, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀπηγόρευε καλεῖν.

213 Ὡς τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μαρτυρας.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄν γε τι ἔξω τῆς πρεσβείας βλασφημῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ, κατὰ πολλὰ οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούοιτε αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνομαι τήμερον, οὐδ' ἐγχεῖ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕδωρ οὐδεὶς ἐμοί. τί οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα πλὴν δικαίων λόγων ἀπορία; τίς

καν ταύτας ἔμελλον εἰσιέναι κατ' αὐτῶν; of the defendant 18. 103 *γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον*; ib. 105 *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*.

§ 212. **περιίστατο**] 'it became necessary:' 'the necessary consequence would be that he too must come into court again:' Madv. 108 b; Riddell, *Dig.* 92 b. Dem. 49. 2 *σφαλέντος...τούτου ἀπώλλυτο τῷ πατρὶ...τὸ συμβόλαιον*; 51. 9 *εἰ δὲ μὴ μετριωτέραν ἔσχετε τὴν ὀργήν...οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε τεθνάναι*; 54. 33; Andoc. 1. 48, where he gives his reflections in prison in a succession of such imperfects.

οὐκ εἴα] 'protested against their summoning me.'

εὐσεβῶς] i. e. 'consistently with your oaths,' an appeal to their 'religio.' Antiph. 2. β. 11 *μὴ καταψηφισάμενοι δυσμόρους ἡμᾶς καταστήσητε, ἀλλ' ἀπολύοντες εὐσεβεῖτε*: 2. γ. 12; Dem. 18. 1, 7 and 8; Eur. *Hipp.* 1309 *οὐδ'...ὅρκων ἀφεῖλε πίστιν, εὐσεβὴς γεγώς*.

ἐξητάζετο] 'he would have come forward and done so then and accused me.' 18. 277, 320; supr. 115. **ἂν** is to be repeated with **ἀπηγόρευε**. For the omission of *μή* after **ἀπηγόρευε**, which Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* p. 661, maintains is not Greek, see Madv. 210 r. 1. So Thuc. 1. 62 *ὅπως εἴργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν*; Soph. *Aj.* 70 *ἀπείρξει...εἰσιδεῖν*; supr. § 26 *ἐξέκλειον λόγον τυγχάνειν*; 4. 18 *ὄντος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν*; and so (usually) *κωλύω*, 1. 12 *τὸ κωλῦον...βαδίζειν*; Xen. *An.* 3. 1. 20 *πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.....κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς*. Cobet also objects to the second *οὐ* in *οὐ μὰ Δί' οὔ* of which there are examples in abundance. 18. 307; 21. 25; 22. 33; 24. 28, 157; 29. 59; 43. 52; 52. 14; 56. 38. Xen. *Oecon.* c. 1. 7 and 17; c. 2. 14; c. 7. 7; c. 11. 25 al.

§ 213. *If he goes into matters foreign to the embassy, do not listen to him. It would not be right that he should be allowed to utter slanders to which I cannot reply. Philip, if I had been tried before him, would not have allowed me to slander his friend.*

ἔξω τῆς πρ.] as Dem. did himself in § 192, where see the note. Aesch. 1. 170 *τὰς ἔξωθεν τοῦ πράγματος ἀπολογίας μὴ ἀποδέχεσθε*: Dem. 18. 34; Ps. D. 59. 5 *ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς πολλὰ κατηγορῶν*, opp. to *εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατηγορεῖν* Antiph. 6. 9.

ἐγχεῖ] is future. Veitch s.v. χέω. The meaning is 'I have no right of reply.' Cf. § 57.

γὰρ ἂν κατηγορεῖν ἕλοιτο κρινόμενος, ἔχων ὅ τι ἀπολογή-
214 σεται; ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. εἰ ἐκρινόμην μὲν ἐγώ, κατηγόρει δ' Αἰσχίνης οὗτοσί, Φίλιππος δ' ἦν ὁ κρίνων, εἶτ' ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶ κακῶς ἔλεγον τουτονὶ καὶ προπηλακίζειν ἐπεχείρουν, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγανακτῆσαι τὸν Φίλιππον, εἰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τοὺς ἐκείνου τις εὐεργέτας κακῶς λέγοι; μὴ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς χείρους γένησθε Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεται, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζετε ἀπολογεῖσθαι. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ. 408

215 Οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέναι καὶ λόγον διδόναι καὶ πάντα τἀκ τῶν νόμων ὑπέχειν ᾤμην δεῖν, οὗτος δὲ τἀναντία. πῶς οὖν ταὐτὰ ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ πέπρακται; ἢ πῶς ἔνεστι τούτῳ ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν ἃ μηδ' ᾐτίαται πρότερον πώποτε; οὐδαμῶς δήπου. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρεῖ, καὶ νὴ Δί' εἰκότως γε· ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ κρίσεις γίγνονται, οὐδεὶς

ἔχων ὅ τι] 'if he had anything to say in his defence.' Madv. 121 r. 1. One MS. has the subj. ἀπολογίσηται which, without a preceding negative, is a perfectly legitimate construction in Greek as well as Latin, as Sh. has ably shown in his critical note against Hermann and Cobet. To the exx. there given add Lys. 6. 42 ἴσως οὖν καὶ Κηφισίου ἀντικατηγορήσει καὶ ἕξει ὅ, τι λέγῃ (so Cobet, rejecting the reading of the Cod. Palat. ὅ, τι λέγειν which Schiebe adopts), Pl. *Hipp. Maj.* 291 D πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο, ἴσθι, ἐάν τις ἔχῃ ὅ, τι ἀντείπῃ, φάναι ἐμὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐπαΐειν. *Sophist.* 264 A πλὴν δόξης ἔχεις ὅ, τι προσείπῃς αὐτό;

§ 214. **εἶτ'**] supr. 123.

ὡς] 'in proof of my innocence;' supr. 183.

καὶ κατ' αὐτό] 'would on this very account,' if for no other.

ἐκείνῳ...ἐκείνου] 'that anyone before *him* should abuse *his* benefactors,' representing the emphatic ἐμοί and ἐμούς of the *or. recta.*

ὑπὲρ...περί] a purely rhetorical variation. Cf. § 96; 23. 1 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χερρόνησον ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς...περὶ τούτου μοί ἐστιν ἅπασα ἡ σπουδή; Hyper. *pr. Eux.* 5 ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων...νόμους ἔθεσθε χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν.

§ 215—220. *Do not be led astray by the allegations he will doubtless make against me though he was silent when I could have answered him. Decide the case by your own knowledge. If all they promised has been realised—if we were told of all that has taken place and yet were content to make peace, acquit him—if just the reverse is the case, inflict on him a righteous vengeance.*

τἀκ τῶν ν.] 'submit to all the requirements of the laws;' supr. § 70; 21. 166 τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων τάξιν λιπών.

τἀναντία] supr. § 2.

καὶ νὴ Δί'...] 'and I must say I am not surprised.'

οὐδεὶς...] This cannot mean 'no

πώποθ' ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν ἑάλω, ἀλλ' ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, ἀρ-
216 νοῦνται, ψεύδονται, προφάσεις πλάττονται, πάντα ποιοῦσιν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην. ὧν οὐδενὶ δεῖ παρακρουσθῆναι
τήμερον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἴστε αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα κρῖναι,
μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις μηδὲ τοῖς τούτου προσέχειν, μηδέ γε
τοῖς μάρτυσιν, οὓς οὗτος ἑτοίμους ἕξει μαρτυρεῖν ὅτιοῦν
Φιλίππῳ χορηγῷ χρώμενος· ὄψεσθε δ' ὡς ἑτοίμως αὐτῷ
μαρτυρήσουσιν. μηδέ γε εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγα οὗτος φθέγγεται,
217 μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥητόρων οὐδὲ λόγων κρίσιν
ὑμᾶς τήμερον, εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
πραγμάτων αἰσχρῶς καὶ δεινῶς ἀπολωλότων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
αἰσχύνην εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀπώσασθε, τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἃ

one when he confessed his guilt was ever condemned,' for such would of course be punished at once. 40. 21 ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁμολογῶν...ἀδικεῖν ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς πω ἀπέφυγε; Aesch. 1. 113; but 'since the world began and trials have been instituted (Madv. 110 a. r. 1) no one was ever convicted confessing his guilt:' 31. 12 οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ὤφλε σιωπῶν οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶν.

πάντα π.] supr. 208 *note*.

ὑπὲρ του μή] 'to escape punishment.' Madv. 170 c.; 172 a. *note*. Cf. 4. 43; 23. 166 ἀμυνόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν; 23. 125.

§ 216. **οὐδενὶ δεῖ**] Cf. § 160 οὐδαμόσε ᾤετο *note*.

ἀφ' ὧν] 'from what you know yourselves,' so that their judgment will proceed from their knowledge as an ἀφορμή. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 13 ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου...θέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον; Lys. 16. 19 ἀπ' ὄψεως...φιλεῖν; Arist. *Vesp.* 76.

μηδέ γε] 'nor yet.'

μαρτυρεῖν ὅτιοῦν] Cf. on § 120.

χορηγῷ] 'paymaster;' a translated sense common in the Orators. 9. 60 χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον; Aesch. 2. 79 τῶν ῥητόρων χορηγὸν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν δαπάναις τὸν πόλεμον ποιουμένων; Ps. D. 11. 6 χρήματα χορηγεῖν ἡμῖν; Aesch. 3. 240; Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 10. c. 8 τῆς ἐκτὸς χορηγίας; ib. c. 9 μετρίως τοῖς ἐκτὸς κεχωρηγημένους; Antiph. 6. 13 ὅπως ἄριστα χορηγοῖντο οἱ παῖδες καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς εἶεν. Bekk. st. and Vöm. read φθέγξεται from S, L, T, 'will show himself possessed of a fine and loud voice.' But this is worse in itself and does not well suit μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ; cf. infr. 337 ὡς καλὸν φθεγγομένῳ. With εἰ we must understand σκοπεῖν or the like, (cf. § 4) rather than προσέχειν directly; 'nor yet look whether he has a fine and loud voice and I a poor one.'

§ 217. In the next sentence Bekk. st. reads ἀπώσασθαι from S and L, and ἐξετάσαντας. But as S and L have the nom. it is probable that the infinitive is a mistake and that the sentence, as is not uncommon in Dem., passes into a, rhetorically, more effective direct statement. Cf. 6. 6 πρασθήσεσθε: 21. 88 (quoted by Sh.) θεάσασθε; ib. § 127 all the best MSS. have ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι (so Bekk. st.); 22. 40 ἐρωτᾶτε. 'For it is not a trial either of orators or speeches (so that you can sit comparatively unconcerned as θεαταί) that you ought to hold to-day, if you are wise, but in regard to (§ 7) interests disgracefully and shamefully ruined, cast off from you the disgrace thence resulting upon its authors, having examined into the facts which you all know.'

With **αἰσχύνην** we must repeat ὑπέρ...; 4. 42 τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ

πάντες ἐπίστασθε, ἐξετάσαντες. τί οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἃ
218 ὑμεῖς ἴστε καὶ οὐ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ. εἰ μὲν
ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ὑπέσχονθ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονε, καὶ
τοσαύτης ἀνανδρίας καὶ κακίας ὑμεῖς ὁμολογεῖτε εἶναι μεστοὶ
ὥστε μήτ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων μήτ' ἐκ θαλάττης
πολιορκούμενοι μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ δεινῷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, 409
ἀλλὰ καὶ σῖτον εὔωνον ὠνούμενοι καὶ τἄλλα οὐδὲν χεῖρον
219 πράττοντες ἢ νῦν, προειδότες καὶ προακηκοότες παρὰ τούτων
καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπολουμένους καὶ Θηβαίους ἰσχυροὺς
γενησομένους καὶ τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης Φίλιππον ληψόμενον καὶ ἐν
Εὐβοίᾳ κατασκευασθησόμενα ὁρμητήρια ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ πάνθ'
ἃ πέπρακται γενησόμενα, εἶτα τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσασθε
ἀγαπητῶς, ἀποψηφίσασθε Αἰσχίνου, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοσούτοις
αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἐπιορκίαν προσκτήσησθε· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς
ἀδικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι καὶ τετύφωμαι νῦν κατηγορῶν
220 αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ πάντα τἀναντία τούτων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ φιλάν-
θρωπα εἰπόντες Φίλιππον, φιλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, Φωκέας σώσειν,
Θηβαίους παύσειν τῆς ὕβρεως, ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις μείζονα

τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος; Pl. *Gorg.* 457 D τοὺς παρόντας ἀχθεσθαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν 'on their own account:' Pl. *Apol.* 23 E: *Euthyd.* 283 E ἠγανάκτησέ θ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδικῶν.—With this passage Sh. appositely compares 18. 226 and Thuc. 3. 38 αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἄκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων.

For τί οὖν the MSS. except S and T have τίνα. Cf. supr. 63.

§ 218. ὥστε μήτ'] 'that without the enemy being in our country, without being blockaded by sea, without the city being in any other danger, whilst on the contrary you were buying cheap corn....' Cf. Ps. D. 10. 49. For the gen. abs. coupled to a nom. of the participle by καί, as just before by μήτε, cf. § 17; 3. 27.

§ 219. τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης] supr. 156.

ἐν Ε.] Cf. infr. on § 326.

ἀγαπητῶς] supr. 200; 'you were glad to conclude peace notwithstanding (εἶτ').'

ἐπιορκίαν] 'the guilt of perjury,' by condemning an innocent man contrary to the obligation of their oaths. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 676 καὶ δειλίαν γὰρ καὶ κάκην κεκτήσομαι; Soph. *Ant.* 924 τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ' ἐκτησάμην 'the name of impious;' Eur. *Hel.* 1097 κάλλος ἐκτήσω; ib. 1151 τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ κτᾶσθε; Dem. 34. 40 ἵνα καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐπιείκειαν ἀποβάλωμεν 'character for fair dealing.'

τετύφωμαι] 'am a fool:' *n.* to 9. 20, where it is opposed to ὑγιαίνειν; 18. 11; 21. 116; 24. 158; 23. 137 ἁπλῶς καὶ κομιδῇ τετυφωμένως.

§ 220. εἰ δέ...] 'But if, just the reverse of this (Madv. 19 r. 3), after saying many kind (lit. both many and kind) things of P. (Madv. 25 r. 3), that he would humble the pride of T., more than this, that he would confer benefits on you beyond the worth of A. should he obtain peace ...if after saying this...'

Θ. παύσειν]. supr. 112 τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσειν.

ἢ κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν τύχῃ τῆς εἰρήνης, Εὔβοιαν Ὠρωπὸν ἀποδώσειν,—εἰ ταῦτ' εἰπόντες καὶ ὑποσχόμενοι πάντ' ἐξηπατήκασι καὶ πεφενακίκασι καὶ μόνον οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὑμῶν περιῄρηνται, καταψηφίσασθε, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὕβρισθε (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' οἶδ' ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν ἄλλο) καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὗτοι δεδωροδοκήκασιν ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν οἴκαδε εἰσενέγκησθε.

221 Ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τίνος ἕνεκ' ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων τούτων κατηγορεῖν ἂν προειλόμην. οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε. ἠδὺ πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν; οὐδέ γε ἀσφαλές. ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχέ μοι πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπέχθειά τις; οὐδεμία. τί οὖν; ἐφοβοῦ περὶ σαυτοῦ, καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ταύτην ἡγήσω σωτηρίαν· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀκήκοα αὐτὸν λέγειν.

κατ' Ἀ.] 'according to the standard of.' Thuc. 2. 62 οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρείαν: Her. 1. 121 πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὑρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιθραδάτην: Pl. *Apol.* 17 B οὐ κατὰ τούτους ῥήτωρ.

περιῄρηνται] 'all but stripped you of;' 3. 31 (passively) περιῃρημένοι χρήματα: 18. 65: Isae. 2. 37 τὸ χωρίον τὸ περιλειφθὲν αὐτῷ περιείλετο: Dem. 21. 138 περιαιρεθεὶς οὗτος τὰ ὄντα: Thuc. 3. 11 τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου, with Arnold's note.

καὶ μή] 'and do not in addition to the other outrages done you, for I do not know what else to call them, also for the bribes taken by these men carry into your homes the curse and the guilt of perjury.'

ἀράν] because by acquitting Ae. they would transfer to themselves the curse he was liable to as a traitor (§ 201); ἐπιορκίαν because to do so they must go against the evidence. Cf. Dein. 1. 3, where he tells the Jurors that the eyes of all were upon them to see whether τὰς ἰδίας δωροδοκίας καὶ πονηρίας ἀναδέχεσθε εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.

οὐ γὰρ...ἄλλο is thrown in to mitigate the boldness of the expression, as 8. 62 αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο.

§§ 221—228. *None of the ordinary motives that lead to accusations influenced me in coming forward, but only a sense of public duty and the desire to clear myself that I might not share their fate. But I am afraid I may find you apathetic. Philip's agents and partizans act here as if his eye was upon them; but those who live for your service, because you have each your private interests, have to encounter all manner of indifference, not to say active opposition.*

οὐδέ γε] 'nay, it is not even safe. Perhaps there was a quarrel between us to begin with,' which is often avowed (Lys. 13. 2: 14. 2 ἐγὼ...καὶ πρότερον πρὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν διαφορᾶς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ πάλαι τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν ἡγούμενος καὶ νῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπονθὼς κακῶς πειράσομαι ὑπὲρ πάντων...μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι: Dem. 21. 1: 22. 1) in order to escape the imputation of συκοφαντία or (Lyc. c. *Leocr.* 5) φιλονεικία; for ὀφείλεται.. παρά γε τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τῷ ἐχθρῷ, ὅπερ καὶ προσήκει, κακόν τι. Pl. *Rep.* 1. 332 B. For ἀλλ' introducing the rhetorical question see *n.* to 2. 26.

ταύτην] 'you thought this your security,' 'this a means of saving yourself,' the pronoun being attracted as usual to the gender of the predicative noun. Madv. 11 r. 1. Pl.

καίτοι μηδενός γ' ὄντος, Αἰσχίνη, δεινοῦ μηδὲ ἀδικήματος, 410
ὡς σὺ φῄς. εἰ γὰρ αὖ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ, σκοπεῖτ', ἄνδρες δικασταί,
εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικῶν ἐφοβούμην ἐγὼ μὴ διὰ τούτους
ἀπόλωμαι, τί τούτους προσήκει παθεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἠδικη-
222 κότας; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τί σου κατηγορῶ;
συκοφαντῶ νὴ Δί', ἵν' ἀργύριον λάβω παρὰ σοῦ. καὶ πότερον
κρεῖττον ἦν μοι παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβεῖν τοῦ διδόντος πολὺ
καὶ μηδενὸς τούτων ἔλαττον, καὶ φίλον κἀκεῖνον ἔχειν καὶ
τούτους (ἦσαν γὰρ ἄν, ἦσάν μοι φίλοι τῶν αὐτῶν κεκοινωνη-
κότι· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἔχθραν πατρικὴν ἔχουσι πρός με, ἀλλ'
ὅτι τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ μετέσχηκα), ἢ παρὰ τούτων ἀφ' ὧν
εἰλήφασι μεταιτεῖν, κἀκείνῳ τε ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ τούτοις;
καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοσούτων χρημάτων
λύεσθαι, μικρὰ δ' ἀξιοῦν παρὰ τούτων αἰσχρῶς μετ' ἔχθρας

Phileb. 16 c οἱ παλαιοὶ...ταύτην φήμην παρέδοσαν: *Apol.* 24 B αὕτη ἔστω ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία πρὸς ὑμᾶς: Lys. 25. 28 ἡγούμενοι ταύτην δημοκρατίας εἶναι φυλακήν.

ἀκήκοα] much less usual than *ἀκούω*: supr. 73, 201: 20. 52 λέγειν... ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκήκοα: Lys. 19. 19 and 45.

καίτοι...γ'] 'Yes, but without there being any danger or crime, as you assert yourself,' i.e. as there was nothing really to fear, no crime having been committed by himself or his colleagues, as Ae. maintained, his explanation of the reason why Dem. accused him was false and groundless.

εἰ...τί] Sh. and Vöm. take this as a case of double interrogation 'conveniat ne istos...et quid conveniat istos pati?' The passage which Sh. quotes in support of this view from Lys. 1. 40, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι, εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐγὼ ἐπεβούλευον Ἐρατοσθένει, πότερον ἦν μοι κρεῖττον αὐτῷ ἐτέρωθι δειπνεῖν ἢ τὸν συνδειπνήσοντά μοι εἰσαγαγεῖν; is a case of anacoluthon, the object sentence (ἦν μοι κρεῖττον...) taking the form of a direct question. Similarly after a δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, εἰ &c. the second member is not unfrequently added as an independent question. Thuc. 1. 121: Lys. 4. 13: 12. 36: 31. 28: Andoc. 1. 102: Madv. 189 a. r. 2. Tr. 'If he should say this again, consider whether for offences which I who am wholly guiltless was afraid might ruin me through these men—what ought they to suffer who themselves committed them?'

§ 222. **ἀλλὰ...διά...**] 'Then why do I accuse you?'

νὴ Δί'] Cf. § 158: 'perhaps I am taking vexatious proceedings that I may get money from you.' Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. *συκοφάντης*; Becker's *Charicles*, p. 55 *note*.

καὶ πότερον] As *καὶ τίς, καὶ πῶς*, &c. supr. § 120: 'And (supposing my motive was to get money) whether was it better for me to take a large sum, not less than any of these men got from P. who offered it...'

ἦσαν...ἦσαν] Cf. infr. § 224 δέδοικα...δέδοικα; *n.* to 1. 19.

ἀλλ'] sc. ἔχθραν ἔχουσιν, 'but only because...'

ἀφ' ὧν] 'a share of.'

μὲν...δέ] 'and while I redeemed the captives out of my own means at such a cost, to ask them for a paltry sum, disgracing myself and making them my enemies.' For *μετά* cf. 3. 36: 6. 37.

223 λαμβάνειν; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀπήγγειλα μὲν τἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπεσχόμην τοῦ λαβεῖν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου, νομίζων, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἐπιεικὴς τιμηθήσεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνταλλακτέον εἶναί μοι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν οὐδενὸς κέρδους· μισῶ δὲ τούτους, ὅτι μοχθηροὺς καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς εἶδον ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, καὶ ἀπεστέρημαι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων φιλοτιμιῶν διὰ τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν πρὸς ὅλην δυσχερῶς. ὑμῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐσχηκότων· κατηγορῶ δὲ νυνὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἥκω τὸ μέλλον προορώμενος, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀγῶνι καὶ δικαστηρίῳ μοι διωρίσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν ὅτι τἀναντία ἐμοὶ
224 καὶ τούτοις πέπρακται. καὶ δέδοικα, δέδοικα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ πάνθ' ἃ φρονῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) μὴ τότε μὲν συνεπισπάσησθέ 411

§ 223. **ἐπιεικὴς τ.**] *τιμή* being *τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου σχεδὸν...τέλος*, Arist. *Nic.Eth.* 1.5.4 sq. *τιμηθήσομαι* is very rare in good Attic prose: the form used being as supr. § 100 *τιμήσομαι*. Cf. Veitch s. v.

κέρδους] 'and that I ought not to barter away my public spirit for any gain.' Dein. 1. 2 *μηδὲ τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τῶν τοῦ κρινομένου λόγων*; Dem. 18. 138; 6. 10 *μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος...τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν*.

ἰδίων φ.] 'personal rewards of my public spirit,' as the vote of thanks and invitation to the Town Hall: supr. 32. *φιλοτιμία* is here, as often, 'honour,' 'distinction.' 2. 3 *ἐκείνῳ ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν*: 24. 181 *ἃ πρότερον ζῆλον πολὺν εἶχε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὑμῖν*.

διωρίσθαι] 'wishing to have it (definitively, once for all) determined for me before you (§ 161; infr. 226) by a trial and court of law;' the perf. infinitive expressing that the act is to be summary and decisive. 24. 99 *καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἀλλ' ἢ καταλελύσθαι*: 51. 12 *ἠτιμῶσθαι*: 24. 60 *λελύσθαι*: 21. 120 *δεῖ με ἀνηρπάσθαι*: 23. 157 *ἀφεῖσθαι*: 4. 19: Thuc. 2. 45 *τετίμηται*. Madv. 171 r. 1.

§ 224. **τότε μέν**] refers to *τὸ μ. προορώμενος*, the time when the full consequences of the misconduct of the Envoys would be revealed. Comp. with this passage 6. 33 sq.

δ....ῆτε] For the perf. conj. after the verb of fearing cf. Soph. *Trach.* 655: Herod. 3. 119 *ἀρρωδήσας μὴ... πεποιηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα*: Isocr. 5. 18 *ἐξεπλάγησαν, μὴ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐξεστηκὼς ᾖ*: 15. 310 *δέδοικα μὴ...τυγχάνῃ συμβεβηκός*: Goodwin § 18. 1: 'I fear, I fear (§ 222) that *then* (i.e. when that time comes) you may drag me who am wholly guiltless along with them (§ 175), while now you will be supine;' lit. 'may prove to have fallen back.' Arn., on Thuc. 1. 70, rightly observing that in all languages the terms expressive of the movements and feelings of the mind are necessarily metaphors, borrowed from the feelings and movements of the body, is not so successful in applying his remarks to *ἀναπίπτω*, which he says expresses properly the movement of a rower who throws himself backward to give force to his stroke, or of a man falling back from a chariot. The translated senses 'supine,' 'dispirited,' are rather got from a man throwing himself back in despair or exhaustion. The word is used more boldly in 21. 163 (quoted by Sh.) *ἀναπεπτώκει τὰ τῆς ἐξόδου*, 'the project of the out-march had cooled.'

με τὸν μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντα, νῦν δ' ἀναπεπτωκότες ἦτε. παντάπασι γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκλελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ παθεῖν ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινά, ἑτέρους δὲ πάσχοντας ὁρῶντες οὐ φυλάττεσθαι, οὐδὲ φροντίζειν τῆς πόλεως πάλαι κατὰ πολ-
225 *λοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς τρόπους διαφθειρομένης. οὐκ οἴεσθε δεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ὑπερφυές; καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι σιωπᾶν ἐγνώκειν, λέγειν ἐξάγομαι. ἴστε δήπου Πυθοκλέα τουτονὶ τὸν Πυθοδώρου. τούτῳ πάνυ φιλανθρώπως ἐκεχρήμην ἐγώ, καὶ ἀηδὲς ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ γέγονεν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην οὐδέν. οὗτος ἐκτρέπεταί με νῦν ἁπαντῶν, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀφῖκται, κἂν ἀναγκασθῇ που συντυχεῖν, ἀπεπήδησεν εὐθέως, μή τις αὐτὸν ἴδῃ λαλοῦντα ἐμοί. μετὰ δ' Αἰσχίνου περιέρχεται*
226 *τὴν ἀγορὰν κύκλῳ καὶ βουλεύεται. οὐκοῦν δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχέτλιον τοῖς μὲν τὰ Φιλίππου πράγμαθ' ἡρημένοις θεραπεύειν οὕτως ἀκριβῆ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἑκάτερα αἴσθησιν ὑπάρχειν, ὥστε ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ ἂν παρε-*

ἐκλελύσθαι] 'thoroughly unstrung,' 'paralysed.' Isocr. 4. 150 *ὄχλος ἄτακτος καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρος, πρὸς... τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος.* Comp. Dem. 3. 31 *ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος ἐκνενευρισμένοι.* With the passage comp. 9. 29.

§ 225. **ἐξάγομαι**] 'for though I had determined not to mention a matter, I am led on to speak.' Absolutely in Dein. 1. 15 *τὸν δὲ κατάπτυστον τοῦτον καὶ Σκύθην, ἐξάγομαι γάρ.*

τουτονί] See on § 75.—Pythocles, an orator of the Macedonian party, was afterwards (B.C. 317) put to death with Phocion (Plut. *vit. Phoc.* 35). He is mentioned again infr. 314, and in 18. 285, as joining Aeschines in attacking Demosthenes after the battle of Chaeronea.

ἐκτρέπεταί με] 'turns out of my way,' 'avoids meeting me,' the acc. being governed by the general idea of 'fearing' contained in the verb. So *ὑπεκστῆναι* (Pl. *Phil.* 43 A); *ἐκστῆναι* (Dem. 22. 76 *οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐξέστη*; Soph. *Aj.* 82); *ὑπεκτράπεσθαι* (Pl. *Phaed.* 108 B); *ὑποχωρεῖν* (Thuc. 2. 88 *μηδένα ὄχλον ὑποχωρεῖν*): cf. *n.* to § 22.

ἀφῖκται] 'ever since he has been to P.,' as § 138: Hyp. *pr. Eux.* 21 *ἐὰν δείξῃς ἀφιγμένον πώποτε εἰς Μακεδονίαν.*

ἀπεπήδησεν] Cf. on § 5 *ἔγνωτε*: 'he starts away immediately for fear of being seen talking to me.'

§ 226. **οὐκοῦν**] Cf. § 132 *note.* 'It is really dreadful and shocking that while those who have elected to serve the interests of P. are assured of a perception on his part in either case (i. e. of their serving him zealously or the reverse) so keen, that each of them believes as surely as if he were standing by that nothing he does even here will escape him, and regards as friends those whom he thinks proper (sc. *αὐτοὺς νομίζειν*) and as enemies in like manner, those who live for you (Ps. D. 7. 17) and are ambitious of honour from you... encounter such deafness and blindness in you...'

ὥσπερ ἂν] sc. *ἡγήσαιτο*: § 157 *note.*

στηκότος αὐτοῦ, μηδ' ὧν ἂν ἐνθαδὶ πράξῃ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι λήσειν, ἀλλὰ φίλους τε νομίζειν οὓς ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ καὶ μὴ φίλους ὡσαύτως, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ζῶσι καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς γλιχομένοις καὶ μὴ προδεδωκόσι ταύτην τοσαύτην κωφότητα καὶ τοσοῦτο σκότος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντᾶν ὥστε τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐξ ἴσου νῦν ἐμὲ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ
227 ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅπαντ' εἰδόσιν. βούλεσθ' οὖν εἰδέναι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τούτων αἴτιον; ἐγὼ δὴ φράσω, ἀξιῶ δὲ 411
μηδέν' ἄχθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι τἀληθῆ. ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἓν οἶμαι σῶμα ἔχων καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν παντὶ θυμῷ καὶ φιλεῖ τοὺς ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιοῦντας καὶ μισεῖ τοὺς τἀναντία, ὑμῶν δ' ἕκαστος πρῶτον μὲν οὔτε τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν
228 εὖ ποιεῖν ἡγεῖται οὔτε τὸν κακῶς κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἕτερά ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ προυργιαίτερα, ὑφ' ὧν παράγεσθε πολλάκις, ἔλεος φθόνος ὀργή, χαρίσασθαι τῷ δεηθέντι, ἄλλα μυρία· ἂν γὰρ

τῆς παρ' ὑ. τ.] Cf. on 1. 10: supr. τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου ... αἴσθησιν: Lys. 12. 66 τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν δέος: Lyc. c. *Leocr.* 130 ὁ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος: Isae. 1. 39 ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν αἰσχύνη; the *fear* &c. being conceived of as coming from the object expressed by the genitive.

ἀλιτηρίοις] supr. § 197.

§ 227. ἀξιῶ...ἄχθεσθαι] An ex. of what the *Technici* call προδιόρθωσις. Cf. 3. 3: 5. 15 καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι: 8. 32: 9. 3: 18. 199, 256: 20. 74 μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, and ib. 102: 21. 58: 23. 144; Pl. *Apol.* 31 E καί μοι μὴ ἄχθεσθε τἀληθῆ λέγοντι, which C. F. Hermann needlessly alters to καὶ μή μοι. The other is the common order: cf. also Dein. 1. 55: Ps. D. 13. 3 and 34: 18. 59: 57. 50.—Bekk. st. omits πρῶτον μέν with F.Φ. There is no need for change. Εἶτα or ἔπειτα would no doubt have followed, if the sentence had not through the ἀλλ' clause passed into another form. For ἂν γάρ of the MSS., which is retained by Bekk. st. and Sh., Dind. adopts Dobree's conj. ἂν δ' ἄρ': Vömel. reads ἂν δ', unnecessarily. Tr. 'The reason is because *he* having, I take it,...whereas each of you never thinks that he who benefits the commonwealth benefits him, or that he who damages it damages him, but everyone has other things more important to himself, by which you are continually led astray, envy, anger, granting favours to suitors, ten thousand other things. (I say envy and anger,) for should a man succeed in escaping everything else, at all events he will not escape those who wish no such person to exist.' The patriot has to contend against those who do not identify themselves with the state (15. 31, quoted on § 185) and regard their own weal or woe as bound up with hers (cf. Thuc. 2. 60 quoted by Sh. and Soph. *Antig.* 182 sq. which is the echo of what Pericles says; also Thuc. 1. 141. 7), but have their own bye ends, interests and likings; and also against the malignity of those who hate whatever is excellent and above their own standard, and pursue it to the death. Pind. *Nem.* 8. 21 ὕψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν· ἅπτεται (i.e. φθόνος) δ' ἐσλῶν ἀεί, χειρόνεσσι δ' οὐκ ἐρίζει: Hor. 2 *Epp.* 1. 13: Thuc. 2. 45: Lys. 3. 9.

§ 228. Observe ἄλλα μυρία added without any connecting particle. 8. 25

ἅπαντά τις ἐκφύγῃ τἄλλα, τούς γε οὐδένα βουλομένους εἶναι τοιοῦτον οὐ διαφεύξεται. ἡ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστου τούτων ἁμαρτία κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέουσα ἀθρόος τῇ πόλει βλάβη γίγνεται.

29 Ὧν μηδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάθητε τήμερον, μηδ' ἀφῆτε τοῦτον ὃς ὑμᾶς τηλικαῦτα ἠδίκηκεν. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τίς ἔσται λόγος περὶ ὑμῶν, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε; Ἀθήνηθεν ἐπρέσβευσάν τινες ὡς Φίλιππον τουτονί, Φιλοκράτης Αἰσχίνης Φρύνων Δημοσθένης. τί οὖν; ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας λαβεῖν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐλύσατο· ὁ δέ, ὧν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα

τὰ τοιαῦτα: Ps. D. 10. 10 ἄλλα μυρία: and 9. 52: infr. 296, τοιαῦτα: 22. 61 τὸν δὲ ὁμοῦ ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα κακά, ἐξῆς ἅπαντας.

ὑπορρέουσα] Sh. following F. A. Wolf, on 20. 49 (τοὺς δ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ καθεστάναι δοκοῦντας εὐδαιμονίᾳ πάντα ταῦτα ἀμελούμενα ὑπέρρει κατὰ μικρόν), tr. here, 'the error in each of these cases gradually giving way from under you (like a stool or ground giving way) results in a universal and momentary destruction to the state.' It seems simpler to tr. 'but the fault in each of these cases gradually insinuating itself grows into an universal injury to the state.' Cf. Pl. *Legg.* 2. 672 B λόγος τις ἅμα καὶ φήμη ὑπορρεῖ πως: *Rep.* 424 D κατὰ σμικρὸν ἐνοικισαμένη ῥρέμα ὑπορρεῖ πρὸς τὰ ἤθη. Comp. Ps. D. 10. 7 where it is said that 'habitual indolence and indifference do not make themselves felt by states any more than by individuals in private life on the occasion of each instance of neglect, but come upon them in the general result.'

§§ 229—232. *Do not commit any such error to-day, or acquit one who has done you such injury. What will be thought of you if you do? Who will be disposed to do his duty faithfully when those who have taken bribes and betrayed your interests are as well thought of as those who did not? Your sentence of to day will be a rule for the future.*

For **ἀφῆτε** Dind. and Vöm. read ἀνῆτε with S and vulg. Vöm. quotes Lys. 13. 93 οὔτε νόμμον ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνεῖναι Ἀγόρατον: Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 51 εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα. But Bekk. st. and Sh. rightly retain ἀφῆτε, which is required by ἀφήσετε which follows.

καὶ γάρ...] A common appeal, Dein. 1. 3 ὁρᾶτε γάρ...ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ὑμῖν Δημοσθένης οὗτοσὶ κρίνεται, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμεῖς: infr. 283: Aesch. 3. 8: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 14 περὶ δὲ τούτων ὅ,τι ἂν βουλεύσησθε, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔσται λόγος; and Dein. 1. 46 tells the Jurors that the eyes of their countrymen and all the Greeks were upon them, and asks (ib. § 66) how they could meet the eyes of the people on leaving court if they acquitted the defendant.

Φ. τουτονί] Cf. § 75. In the following sentences ὁ μέν is Dem.: ὁ δέ Philocrates: καὶ ὁ μέν Phrynon: ὁ δ' Dem.: καὶ ὁ μέν Dem.: ὁ δέ Aeschines. Cf. similar passages in 8. 72: 9. 61: 23. 103.

λαβεῖν] The aorist is here not a *preterite*. Madv. 172 b: Goodwin, 23. 1: 'besides getting nothing from the embassy redeemed the captives out of his own private means.'

ὧν] 'with the money for which (§ 28) he sold the interests of his country, went about buying harlots and fish,' to gratify his favourite appetites.

χρημάτων ἀπέδοτο, τούτων πόρνας ἠγόραζε καὶ ἰχθῦς περι-
230 ιών. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε Φιλίππῳ πρὶν εἰς ἄνδρας
ἐγγράψαι, ὁ μιαρὸς Φρύνων· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον οὔτε τῆς
πόλεως οὔθ' αὑτοῦ διεπράξατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν χορηγῶν καὶ
τριηραρχῶν ἔτι καὶ ταῦτ' ᾤετο δεῖν ἐθελοντὴς ἀναλίσκειν,
λύεσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, μηδένα ἐν συμφορᾷ τῶν πολιτῶν 41
δι' ἔνδειαν περιορᾶν· ὁ δὲ τοσούτου δεῖ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
τινὰ αἰχμάλωτον σῶσαι ὥσθ' ὅλον τόπον καὶ πλεῖν ἢ μυρίους
μὲν ὁπλίτας, ὁμοῦ δὲ χιλίους ἱππέας τῶν ὑπαρχόντων συμ-
μάχων ὅπως αἰχμάλωτοι γένωνται Φιλίππῳ συμπαρεσκευα-
231 σεν. τί οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα; Ἀθηναῖοι λαβόντες· ᾔδεσαν μὲν
γὰρ πάλαι· τί δέ; τοὺς μὲν χρήματ' εἰληφότας καὶ δῶρα,

εἰς ἄνδρας] i. e. before the age of 18, when the young Athenian became an ἔφηβος, and was entered in the register of his deme (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον): Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 76 ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἔφηβοι γίγνωνται; Aesch. 1. 103 ἐνεγράφη...εἰς τὸ λ. γρ. καὶ κύριος ἐγένετο τῆς οὐσίας. Before he was registered he underwent an examination (δοκιμασία), the object of which was to test his legitimacy, full citizenship (καθαρῶς Ἀθηναῖος: καθαρῶς πολίτης 57. 55), and physical ability to discharge public duties (Arist. *Vesp.* 578). Hence the expressions, equivalent to that of our pass., 27. 5 ἕως ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθείην: Isocr. 12. 28 τοῖς εἰς ἄνδρας δεδοκιμασμένοις: or simply δοκιμασθῆναι Lys. 21. 1. Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. ἔφηβος: infr. 303.

§ 230. **καὶ ὁ μέν..**] 'Again one though choirmaster and trierarch thought it right in addition to incur voluntary expenses, to redeem the captives...' Ps. D. 10. 15 πρῶτον μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ, ἔχθρον ὑπολαμβάνειν. Bekk. st. constructs ταῦτ' with ἀναλίσκειν, which is not so good, as it impairs the rhetorical breadth of the passage. S omits τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, and so Vöm. and Bekk. st. Even if the sense did not halt by the omission, so important a word could not be spared. It is clearly required by the contrast he draws. Dind. and Sh. therefore rightly retain it with L γρ, Φ and F.

ὁ δέ...] 'Another so far from saving anyone of those already in captivity helped to make a whole district and nearly a thousand horsemen captive to P.'

δεῖ] is personal, 'he is so far from:' Madv. 57 a. *n.*: 20. 33: Lys. 1. 45: τ. ἔδει (i.e. Philip) supr. § 48: πολλοῦ γ' ἔδεόν τινας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν 57. 61, and so through all the persons. τοσούτῳ δέω and τοσοῦτον δέω Cobet (*Νον. L.* p. 528) pronounces to be 'Graecitatis consenescentis;' but the former phrase occurs in 9. 17 and 18. 111: the latter in Dein. 1. 31; Pl. *Meno*, c. 1.

ὁμοῦ] Cf. § 155.

ὅπως...γένωνται] Madv. 123.

§ 231. **τί οὖν**] Though the contrast was so marked, 'What followed? The A. having got hold of — they had *known* it for some time; well! the men who had taken money ...let them go and considered them men of sense and the commonwealth to be in a flourishing condition.'

μέν] merely serves to throw an emphasis upon ᾔδεσαν. Thuc. 7. 55 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐφοβοῦντο τὰς ναῦς: Xen. *Mem.* 1. 1. 1: Dem. 9. 15. Cf. on 148.

εἰληφότας...καταισχύνοντας] Cf. supr. § 206.

καὶ καταισχύναντας ἑαυτούς, τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, ἀφεῖσαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθενεῖσθαι. τὸν δὲ κατηγοροῦντα τί; ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι, τὴν πόλιν ἀγνοεῖν,
32 οὐκ ἔχειν ὅποι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ῥίπτῃ. καὶ τίς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἰδὼν τὸ παράδειγμα δίκαιον αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν ἐθελήσει; τίς προῖκα πρεσβεύειν, εἰ μήτε λαβεῖν μήτε τῶν εἰληφότων ἀξιοπιστότερον παρ' ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρξει; οὐ μόνον κρίνετε τούτους τήμερον, οὔ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμον τίθεσθε εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον, πότερον χρημάτων αἰσχρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρεσβεύειν ἅπαντας προσ-
33 ήκει ἢ προῖκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ βέλτιστα ἀδωροδοκήτως. ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· ὡς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν ὁ Φρύνων, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τοῦτον μὲν τοίνυν οὐκ ἔκρινεν Αἰσχίνης, ὅτι τὸν αὑτοῦ παῖδα ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔπεμψεν· εἰ δέ τις ὧν

After τὸν...τί we must supply ἡγοῦντο: 20. 34 τί οὖν οἴεσθε...τοῦτον τὸν τοιοῦτον περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγενημένον: 21. 174 τί οἴεσθε τἄλλα: Xen. *An.* 5. 7. 26 τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; 'But what did they think of their accuser? They thought he was a madman, was ignorant of (the state of) his country, did not know how to throw away his money:' instead of giving him credit for his φιλοτιμία in spending his money in the redemption of their captive fellow-citizens, they thought him a fool for throwing away his money and not like a man of the world using his opportunities as the others had done. The spirit of the passage is the same as infr. § 265 sq.: 9. 39.

§ 232. καὶ τίς...] 'And who...:' supr. § 120. With what he says here comp. Lys. 31. 25 κίνδυνος καὶ τοὺς χρηστούς, ἐὰν αἰσθάνωνται ὁμοίως τοὺς πονηροὺς τιμωμένους, παύσεσθαι τῶν χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένους εἶναι τούς τε κακοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμνημονεῖν: Isocr. 7. 21: Lys. 20. 32: infr. 343.

οὔ...οὔ] supr. § 186: 'No! but you are legislating for all time to come, whether all ambassadors ought for money disgracefully to promote the interests of your enemies, or honestly do their utmost for you without a bribe.' Comp. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 9 διὸ καὶ μάλιστα...δεῖ ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ νῦν ἀδικήματος δικαστὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθέτας...ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν καταλείπεσθαι παραδεῖγμα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, and Lys. 14. 4 ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς νυνὶ περὶ αὐτῶν γνῶτε, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς χρήσεται: Ps. D. 50. 66.

§ 233. *Aeschines brought Timarchus who had been a little fast in his youth to trial, but had nothing to say against Phrynon.*

προσδεῖσθε] i. e. besides what has been said. After περί S omits μέν, as in the passages quoted on § 146.

ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ] 'for dishonour,' as § 309 ἐφ' ὕβρει. ἔκρινεν here 'did not prosecute;' κρίνω being said both of the Jurors, as in the last §. and the prosecutor, as κρίνομαι of

ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἑτέρου βελτίων τὴν ἰδέαν, μὴ προϊδόμενος τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ὄψεως ὑποψίαν, ἰταμώτερον τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχρήσατο βίῳ, τοῦτον ὡς πεπορνευμένον κέκρικεν.

234 Φέρε δὴ περὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος εἴπω· 41
μικροῦ γε, ἃ μάλιστά μ' ἔδει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν, παρῆλθον.
τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης πρεσβείας γράφων τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγώ,
καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν αἷς ἐμέλλετε
βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὐδενὸς οὔτε λόγου πω παρὰ
τούτων οὔτ' ἀδικήματος ὄντος φανεροῦ, τὸ νόμιμον ἔθος ποιῶν
235 καὶ ἐπῄνεσα τούτους καὶ εἰς πρυτανεῖον ἐκάλεσα. καὶ νὴ

the prosecutor (Arist. *Eq.* 1158 ἐν τάγορᾷ γὰρ κρινόμενος ἐβοσκόμην) and the accused.

εἰ δέ τις] i. e. Timarchus: 'but if one being in youth better looking than usual, not foreseeing the suspicion that might arise from such good looks, was a little fast (rakish) in after life, him he has brought to trial for impudicity.'

προϊδόμενος] S, L; προειδόμενος vulg. Cf. Veitch s.v. εἰδέω, p. 187. In Aesch. 1. 165 Schultz and Franks now read προϊδόμενος.

ἰταμώτερον] 8. 68 τῶν ἰταμῶς πολιτευομένων 'your reckless politicians:' Ps. D. 25. 24 ἰταμὸν γὰρ ἡ πονηρία καὶ τολμηρόν: Pl. *Prot.* 349 C πότερον τοὺς ἀνδρείους θαρραλέους λέγεις ἢ ἄλλο τι: καὶ ἴτας γε, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ φοβοῦνται ἰέναι; and Plato says of Eros in *Symp.* 203 B ἀνδρεῖος ὢν καὶ ἴτης καὶ σύντονος.

§§ 234—236. *It is true that I proposed a vote of thanks to my colleagues and invited them to the Town-hall. But at that time the State had received no injury and nothing had as yet shown that they had sold themselves. I entertained P.'s envoys magnificently because I saw that in Macedonia they prided themselves on such things as evidences of wealth and splendour, and did not wish to be outdone in that respect.*

φέρε...εἴπω] 'Now let me speak;' supr. 169. Madv. 120: Elmsl. *Med.* 1242. *Age* is similarly used in 'transitio' in Latin. Cic. *pr. Sull.* § 72: *pr. Imp. Cn. Pomp.* § 40: *pr. Mil.* § 55 'Age nunc...comparate.' Of this Aeschines makes a great point (2. 45 sq.).

μικροῦ γε] 'I had very (γε) nearly passed over what I ought particularly to have mentioned to you.' For παρῆλθον T has παρῆλθεν, which Sch. and Sh. prefer, the former quoting 21. 110 τουτὶ γὰρ αὖ μικροῦ παρῆλθέ με εἰπεῖν. Cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 636 ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐπῆλθε κοὐδέν τι παρῆλθεν. This is one of the artifices orators used in order to give an air of extemporaneousness to their speeches. Cf. 20. 84: 21. 108, 110: 23. 82, 87: 24. 122: 4. 58 ἀρτίως γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεμνήσθην. Cic. *Verr.* 4 § 5 'Canephorae ipsae vocabantur. Sed earum artificem quem? Quemnam? Recte admones; Polyclitum esse dicebant,' with Quintilian's comment in 9. 2. 61 sq.

τῆς πρώτης] 'in drawing up the resolution of Council concerning that first embassy.' For the gen. Madv. 48 r.: other exx. are given on § 144.

λόγου...παρὰ τ.] Cf. § 49: Aesch. 2. 42 τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα; ib. 118 παρ' ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐρρήθη τὰ δίκαια; 'when no statement of theirs or criminal act was yet known,' the adjective applying strictly to the latter substantive only.

τὸ ν. ἔθος] So much so that, according to Dem. (supr. § 31), it was only departed from in the case of Timagoras.

Δι' ἔγωγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἐξένισα, καὶ πάνυ γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λαμπρῶς· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἑώρων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκεῖ σεμνυνομένους ὡς εὐδαίμονας καὶ λαμπρούς, εὐθὺς ἡγούμην ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον αὐτὸς περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερος φαίνεσθαι. ταῦτα δὴ παρέξεται νῦν οὗτος λέγων ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπῄνεσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ
236 αὐτὸς εἱστία τοὺς πρέσβεις, τὸ πότε οὐ διορίζων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἠδικῆσθαί τι καὶ φανερὸς τούτους πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, ὅτ' ἄρτι μεν ἧκον οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πρῶτον, ἔδει δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν δῆμον τί λέγουσιν, οὐδέπω δὲ οὔθ' οὗτος συνερῶν δῆλος ἦν τῷ Φιλοκράτει οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος τοιαῦτα γράψων. ἂν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ, μέμνησθε τοὺς χρόνους ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἰσὶ πρότεροι. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τούτους οἰκεῖον οὐδὲ κοινὸν γέγονεν. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

237 Ἴσως τοίνυν ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ συνερεῖ Φιλοχάρης καὶ Ἀφό-

§ 235. ἐπ[] supr. 23.

ὡς] 'as proving them wealthy and splendid,' 'as evidences of wealth.'

μεγαλοψυχότερος] μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως supr. § 140: cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 4. 2. 15 where περὶ ξένων ..ὑποδοχάς is mentioned as one of the occasions on which μεγαλοπρέπεια will show itself; Xen. *Oecon.* c. 2. 5. Aesch. (2. 109) declares that Dem. detailed all this at Pella to Philip as one of τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ὑπηργμένας εἰς Φίλιππον αὐτῷ. Dem. returns to the subject again in 18. 28, in reply to a fresh attack from his adversary (Aesch. 3. 76).

παρέξεται] Cf. § 32: 'this he will bring forward,' as evidence in his favour, 'and say—not distinguishing the when—D. himself thanked us;' 'proposed the vote of thanks to us;' § 31. Cf. 3. 10 τὸ δ' ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε: 37. 34 τὸ δ' ὅπως...ὑμεῖς σκοπεῖτε.

§ 236. ἧκον] supr. § 60.

τί λέγουσιν] 'their report.' Madv. 130 b. This does not support ἀπαγγέλλουσιν in § 59.

δῆλος ἦν] Madv. 177 b.

ἐμοὶ πρὸς τ.] 'there has been no connection or communion between these men and myself.' 21. 44 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστίν; ib. 195 πρὸς οὖς μηδὲν ἐστί σοι πρᾶγμα; supr. § 221. The expression ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ &c. as in § 225; μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα 18. 283, is less common.

§§ 237—240. *No doubt his brothers will intercede for him; but there are many reasons why you should not listen to them. It is natural that they should wish to save their brother, but you must think of the laws and the Commonwealth and above all of your oath. If he is innocent I too say acquit him; if they beg you to acquit him if proved guilty, this is to ask you to perjure yourselves; and what greater proof of his guilt is needed than his prosecution of Timarchus?*

συνερεῖ] See on § 1. In the same way as here he endeavours to obviate beforehand the effect of what the 'advocati' would say infr. 290; 20. 146: 21. 205 sq.: 22. 38. Hyper. *pr. Lycophr.* col. 8 protests on behalf of

βητος· πρὸς οὓς ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῖν πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἔστιν 415
εἰπεῖν. ἀνάγκη δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ παρρησίας διαλεχθῆναι, μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον. ἡμεῖς, Ἀφόβητε καὶ σὺ Φιλόχαρες, σὲ μὲν τὰς ἀλαβαστοθήκας γράφοντα καὶ τὰ τύμπανα, τούτους δ' ὑπογραμματέας καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους (καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς κακίας ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγίας γ' ἄξια) πρεσβειῶν, στρατηγιῶν, τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἠξιώ-
238 σαμεν. εἰ τοίνυν μηδὲν ὑμῶν ἠδίκει μηδείς, οὐχ ἡμεῖς χάριν ὑμῖν οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν δικαίως ἂν ἔχοιτε τούτων· πολλοὺς γὰρ ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι παρέντες ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς ἐσεμνύνομεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐτιμᾶσθε

his client against the irrelevant charges usually made and the attacks upon the 'advocati' of the defendant, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τούς τε μέλλοντας βοηθεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσι προδιαβάλλουσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρινομένου τὴν ἀπολογίαν διαστρέφουσι. Cf. supr. 72 *note*.

μηδὲν ὑ.] 'And it is necessary that I should speak freely, without any reservation:' supr. 156: infr. 339.

ἡμεῖς] 'A. and P. (the orator turns to him)—you engaged in painting your perfume boxes and tambourines, and your brothers here (Ae. and Aphobetus) underclerks (§ 70) and ordinary persons—and there is nothing morally wrong in such pursuits, but neither certainly do they deserve the rank of a general—we promoted to...and the highest honours.' On the 'perfume boxes' see *Gr. and R. Ant.* s.v. *Alabaster*. The 'tambourines' would be wanted in their mothers' trade 18. 284 Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας.

κακίας] a descriptive genitive; 27. 34 οὐ μικρᾶς ἀναιδείας τὰ ἐγχειρήματ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν: 18. 296 εἰσὶν... τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων: 27. 9 τέχνης οὐ μικρᾶς ἑκάτερον: 37. 53 οἱ τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοι μήτε συγγνώμης μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενός εἰσιν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ πλείονος 'have no regard for.' Madv. 54 b. It matters little whether we take the words τῶν μ. τιμῶν as a climax, or as an epexegesis ('in short, the highest honours') as supr. 156 πάντα τὰ πράγματα. I prefer the latter view. According to Aesch. 2. 149, Aphobetus was sent as envoy to Persia and had also filled with credit the important office of Finance Minister. It was probably this brother who was appointed envoy in the room of Aeschines on the occasion mentioned in § 124. Of Philochares he says that he had served with Iphicrates and was at the time he spoke general for the third year in succession.

§ 238. ἠδίκει] 'committed any crime,' i. e. during the time you followed these pursuits.

εἰ δὲ δή] 'but if one of you (Aeschines) has in the very exercise of the dignities ye received committed crimes, and crimes too of such a nature, with how much more justice ought you to be execrated than pardoned?' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐτιμᾶσθε is an instance of the fondness of the Greeks for throwing, as Sh. expresses it, the substantive into the verb. Arist. *Ach.* 677 ἀξίως ἐκείνων ὧν ἐναυμαχήσαμεν: Dem. 16. 13 χάριν...ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν: 18. 312 ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν...νόμον: 21. 134 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔζης: 45. 68 ἃ πέπλασται καὶ βαδίζει οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς τοίχους: Thuc. 2. 63 ὧν...ἀπήχθεσθε.

ἠδίκηκέ τις ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἂν μισοῖσθε δικαίως ἢ σώζοισθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πολλῷ. βιάσονται τοίνυν ἴσως, μεγαλόφωνοι καὶ ἀναιδεῖς ὄντες, καὶ τὸ
239 "συγγνώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν" προσειληφότες. ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἡττᾶσθε, ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμούμενοι, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν τούτου προσήκει φροντίζειν, ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν νόμων καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρὰ πάντα τῶν ὅρκων οὓς αὐτοὶ κάθησθε ὀμωμοκότες. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινῶν δεδέηνται τουτονὶ σώζειν, πότερ' ἂν μηδὲν ἀδικῶν φαίνηται τὴν πόλιν ἢ κἂν ἀδικῶν, σκοπεῖτε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν μή, κἀγώ φημι δεῖν, εἰ δ' ὅλως κἂν ὁτιοῦν, ἐπιορκεῖν δεδέηνται. οὐ γὰρ εἰ κρύβδην ἐστὶν ἡ ψῆφος,

βιάσονται] 'they will be violent:' 21. 40 μὴ...ἐᾶτε ταῦτ' αὐτὸν λέγειν, μηδ', ἂν βιάζηται, πείθεσθ' ὡς δίκαιόν τι λέγοντι: 23. 100 ταύτῃ βιαζόμενον. Cf. Butt. *Ind. Mid.* s.v.

τὸ συγγνώμην S, L, vulg., Vöm., and Sh., in his 3rd ed., on the strength of Lys. 6. 31 τοῦτ' ἐστι τὸν βίον ἀβίωτον. But there Cobet (*Nov. L.* p. 577) and others justly find a difficulty in the article, which is not removed by Dem. 21. 131 ἀβίωτον ᾤετ' ἔσεσθαι τὸν βίον αὐτῷ: 24. 141: Aesch. 2. 5 ἀβίωτον εἶναί μοι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον νομίζω, where the article could not be omitted. Cobet reads τὸ ζῆν βίον ἀβίωτον, quoting Philemon *frag. inc:* 8 (Mein. p. 842 ed. min.) ἡμεῖς δ' ἀβίωτον ζῶμεν ἄνθρωποι βίον. Perhaps it may be explained by reference to the exclamatory use of the phrase, Philem. *fragm. inc.* 5 (Mein. p. 841) ἐὰν δ' 'ἀβίωτος ὁ βίος, οὐκ ἔτ' ὄψομαι, ἀπόλωλ',' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦτ' ἐὰν σκοπῇ, κακὰ...συλλέγει. But in any case the passage suggests no explanation of the substitution here of the acc. for the nom. which would compel us to tr. 'that συγγνώμη helps a brother.' Vömel's expedient of supplying ἔχει is not to be thought of. Not being convinced by Sh.'s note, I follow Bekk. st. Dind. and Sh. (1st ed.) in reading συγγνώμη from F; 'having got besides the plea, 'it is excusable to help a brother.'' For the construction of συγγνώμη here cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1322 ἀνδρὶ συγγνώμην ἔχει...συμβαλεῖν ἔπη κακά: Eur. *Med.* 814.

§ 239. For **τούτοις μέν** T has τούτους; S *pr. m.* τούτους with the υ half erased. Comp. Isae. 8. 6 (quoted by Sh.) ὡς καὶ κληρονομεῖν μᾶλλον ἡμῶν ἢ τοῦτον προσήκει: Isocr. 5. 127 προσήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις...σὲ δ'...: Dein. 1. 112 μὴ ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτῶν...μηδὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τούτου μανίαν. Lob. *Ajax*, p. 332. With the argument comp. Lys. 14. 19: 15. 8 and 9: Dein. 1. 110 καὶ σκοπεῖτε τὸ τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρον, μὴ τὸ Δημοσθένει· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καλῶν κἀγαθῶν δικαστῶν ἔργον.

παρὰ πάντα] 'above all.'

καὶ γάρ] 'For if they have besought any of you (before the proceedings commenced, § 1) to save the defendant, consider whether it is in case he is not proved to have done any wrong to the Commonwealth, or even in case he is so proved. For if they mean in case he is not (shown to be guilty) I too say you ought to acquit him; but if unconditionally, in case he is guilty of any crime whatever, they have besought you to perjure yourselves.' Lys. 14. 22 ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοντες δίκαιον κελεύουσιν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ ὅτι διδάσκουσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπιορκεῖν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι: Dem. 21. 211: Cornificius, *ad Herenn.* 4. § 19.

λήσει τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάντων ἄριστα ὁ τιθεὶς τὸν νόμον εἶδε τὸ κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι, ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδεὶς εἴσεται τὸν ἑαυτῷ κεχαρισμένον ὑμῶν, οἱ θεοὶ δὲ εἴσονται 416
240 καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸν μὴ τὰ δίκαια ψηφισάμενον. παρ' ὧν κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, τὰ δίκαια γνόντα καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα, περιποιήσασθαι, ἢ τὴν ἀφανῆ καὶ ἄδηλον χάριν τούτοις καταθέσθαι, καὶ ἀφεῖναι τοῦτον ὃς αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ καταμεμαρτύρηκεν. τίνα γάρ, Αἰσχίνη, μάρτυρα μείζω παράσχωμαι τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπρεσβεῦσθαί σοι ἢ σὲ κατὰ σαυτοῦ; ὃς γὰρ ᾠήθης χρῆναι τὸν φανερόν τι ποιῆσαι βουληθέντα τῶν σοι πεπρεσβευμένων τηλικαύτῃ καὶ τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ περιβαλεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι δεινὸν ἄν τι παθεῖν σαυτὸν ἤλπιζες, εἰ πύθοιντ' οὗτοι τὰ πεπραγμένα σοι.

καὶ πάντων] Cf. on § 192.

τὸ κρ. ψηφίζεσθαι] An explanatory apposition to *τὸν νόμον*. F has *τοῦ κρ. ψ.* as 21.35 *ὁ τῆς βλάβης νόμος*. Tr. 'but most admirably did he who enacted the law of secret voting see that no one of these men (Aeschines and others in his position) will know which of you has obliged him, but the Gods will know and the divine spirit who gave an unjust vote. Aesch. 3. 233 *ἡ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετ' ἄδηλος γεγένηται· ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται*: Lys. 15. 10 *οὐ γὰρ δὴ χάριν γε ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει τῇ ψήφῳ κρύβδην εὖ παθών*: Lys. 6. 53 *ποῖον δικαστὴν χρὴ τούτῳ χαρισάμενον κρύβδην φανερῶς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεχθέσθαι;*— That the Gods overlook all things on earth is strongly urged by Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 94: also ib. § 79: Xen. *Mem.* 1. 1. 19.

§ 240. **τοῖς παισὶ**] Because punishment it was believed fell on the transgressor's children if not on himself; Sol. *fr.* 12. 30 sq.; Dem. 23. 68: Lys. 6. 20: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 79 *τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιορκήσας τις λάθοι, οὔτ' ἂν ἐκφύγοι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ αὐτός, οἱ παῖδές γε καὶ τὸ γένος ἅπαν τὸ τοῦ ἐπιορκήσαντος μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιπίπτει*, which is illustrated by the well-known history of Glaucus in Herod. 6. 85, 86. Cf. Cic. *de nat. Deor.* 3. § 90 'ea vis deorum est, ut etiam si quis morte poenas sceleris effugerit, expetantur eae poenae a liberis, a nepotibus, a posteris.'

χάριν καταθέσθαι] 'to lay up for oneself, as in a bank, a store of *χάρις*, or gratitude for favours received, with anyone, laying him under an obligation.' Cf. Thuc. 2. 40: Antiph. 5. 61 *τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ χάριν καταθέσθαι*; Aesch. *Prom.* 782 *τὴν δ' ἐμοὶ χάριν θέσθαι*: Thuc. 1. 128 *εὐεργεσίαν...ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο*: Dem. 15. 11: 23. 17. 'To confer on them the secret and uncertain favour.'

παράσχωμαι] 'Can I produce.' Madv. 121. A common argument, Dem. 41. 20 *αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μέγιστος ἔσται μάρτυς...ἔργῳ περιφανεῖ*: 18. 118: 31. 4: Aesch. 3. 27.

τῶν σοι π.] Madv. 27. Cf. in the next § *τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπρεσβευμένων*, and above *πεπρεσβεῦσθαί σοι* 'have been done by you as ambassador:' Aesch. 2. 4 *τῶν σεσωφρονημένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ μοι*: Dem. 4. 25 *τῶν στρατηγουμένων* (neuter).

τηλικαύτῃ καὶ τ.] Supr. § 19.

ἤλπιζες] 'expected:' 1. 14 *note*: Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 9. 4. 9 *μιμήσονται γὰρ πολλῶν καὶ δυσχερῶν, καὶ τοι-*

241 Τοῦτο τοίνυν, ἄνπερ ὑμεῖς εὖ φρονῆτε, καθ' αὑτοῦ συμβήσεται τούτῳ πεπρᾶχθαι, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦθ' ὅτι παμμέγεθες σημεῖόν ἐστι τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ κατηγορῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους εἶπεν οἳ κατ' αὐτοῦ νῦν ὑπάρχουσιν· ἃ γὰρ ὡρίσω σὺ δίκαια ὅτε Τίμαρχον ἔκρινες, ταὐτὰ δήπου ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ σοῦ προσήκει τοῖς ἄλλοις
242 ἰσχύειν. ἔλεγες τοίνυν τότε πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὅτι ἀπολογήσεται δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατηγορήσει τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπρεσβευμένων· εἶτ', ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπαγάγῃ τῷ λόγῳ, νεανιεύσεται καὶ περιιὼν ἐρεῖ· πῶς; τί; τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ᾠχόμην τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτῶν ὑφελόμενος. μὴ σύ γε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζῃ, περὶ τούτων ἀπολογοῦ· τότε δ', ἡνίκ' ἐκεῖνον ἔκρινες, ἐξῆν σοι κατηγορεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅ τι ἐβούλου.

243 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἔλεγες, οὐδένα μάρ-

αὖθ' ἕτερα ἐλπίζουσιν. So ἐλπίς in 1. 14: 23. 106.

§§ 241—242. *He cannot on his own trial refuse to be guided by the principles he laid down when prosecuting Timarchus.*

τούτῳ] with συμβήσεται; 'will turn out to him to have been done to his own prejudice.'

ὑπάρχουσιν] 'those arguments which hold good (are applicable) against himself now.' Aesch. 2. 144 ἐτόλμησε δ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ λόγοις περιπίπτω.

δίκαια] Strictly 'as principles:' 'For surely the same principles which you laid down when you were prosecuting T. ought to hold good for others against yourself.' 36. 48 ἃ γὰρ ἂν σὺ δίκαια σαύτῳ κατὰ τούτου τάξῃς, ταὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἥξει κατὰ σοῦ.

§ 242. **ὅτι**] is put pleonastically before the *or. recta*, as in § 22: Madv. 192 a.

ἀ. δέ] For δὲ cf. §§ 182, 188.

ἀπαγάγῃ] 'Then if he succeeds in leading you astray by his speech he will brag (§ 194) and go about saying, how? what? (i. e. how will he brag? what will he say?) I led the Jurors away from the question before them (3. 1) and stole the case out of their hands.' The reference is to Aesch. 1. 175 ὑπολάβετ' ὁρᾶν εἰσεληλυθότα ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου οἴκαδε καὶ σεμνυνόμενον ἐν τῇ τῶν μειρακίων (the pupils he had as a σοφιστής, as he is there called, or teacher of Rhetoric) διατριβῇ καὶ διεξίοντα, ὡς εὖ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑφείλετο τῶν δικαστῶν· ἀπαγαγὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Τιμάρχου αἰτιῶν ἐπέστησα φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν κατήγορον.

μὴ σύ γε] 'Don't you do so, but confine yourself to the matters on which you are tried,' γε being part of the formula of entreaty or expostulation. Aesch. *S. c. Th.* 71 μή μοι πόλιν γε: Arist. *Nub.* 81 μή μοί γε τοῦτον μηδαμῶς τὸν ἵππιον.

Observe **περί** and **ὑπέρ** again used without any real difference of meaning, as in § 214.

§§ 243—245. *Having no witnesses to call in support of his charges he quoted certain verses and founded an argument on them which will now recoil on his own head.*

ἐπὶ τοῖς δ.] 'Moreover you also repeated before the Jurors,' a rare expression (Lys. 30. 3: Isocr. 15. 38), in which the preposition denotes im-

τυρα ἔχων ἐφ' οἷς ἔκρινες τὸν ἄνθρωπον παρασχέσθαι, 417
"φήμη δ' οὔ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ πολλοὶ
φημίξωσι· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή." οὐκοῦν, Αἰσχίνη,
καὶ σὲ πάντες οὗτοι χρήματ' ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας φασὶν εἰ-
ληφέναι, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δήπουθεν φήμη δ' οὔ τις
244 πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ πολλοὶ φημίξωσιν. ὅσῳ
γὰρ αὖ σε πλείους ἢ 'κεῖνον αἰτιῶνται, θεώρησον ὡς ἔχει.
τὸν μὲν Τίμαρχον οὐδ' οἱ πρόσχωροι πάντες ἐγίγνωσκον,
ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ βαρβάρων
ἔσθ' ὅστις οὔ φησι χρήματ' ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας εἰληφέναι.
ὥστ', εἴπερ ἔστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ φήμη, καθ' ὑμῶν ἐστίν, ἡ παρὰ
τῶν πολλῶν, ἣν ὅτι πιστὴν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ
αὐτή, καὶ ὅτι σοφὸς ἦν ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσας, σὺ
διώρισας αὐτός.
245 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἰαμβεῖα δήπου συλλέξας ἐπέραινεν, οἷον

mediate proximity, as in Soph. *Trach.* 356 οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀμφάλῃ λατρεύματα: *Aj.* 1295 ἐφ' ᾗ (with whom) λαβὼν ἔπακτον ἄνδρα. He refers to Aesch. 1. 129, where these lines from Hesiod (*Opp. et Dies*, 761) are quoted and applied. To these remarks of Dem. Aeschines replies in 2. 145, where he distinguishes between φήμη (φήμη μέν ἐστιν ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτόματον ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως λέγῃ τινὰ ὡς γεγενημένην πρᾶξιν), διαβολή and συκοφαντία. Cf. also 1. 127 περὶ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀψευδής τις ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πλανᾶται φήμη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, its mysterious origin, not traceable to any tangible source, being the ground of its divinity. Comp. *Π.* 2. 93 Ὅσσα... Διὸς ἄγγελος. Buttm. *Lexil.* s.v. Ὄσσομαι, § 5.

ἐφ' οἷς] 'in support of the charge on which...'

§ 244. **ἢ 'κεῖνον**] Dind.: ἢ ἐκεῖνον Bekk. st. and Sh. Cf. 4. 4 *note*.

ὡς ἔχει L, marg. S, vulg., Sh.: εἰσῃ S, 'sed σ est in liturâ erasâ,' which was probably τ. Hence Bekk. st. reads εἴσῃ 'how you will know;' Vöm, ex conj. ἔσει, which he tr. 'quâ in conditione futurus sis.' The vulg. alone yields a suitable sense. 'For inasmuch again as more people accuse you than him see how the matter stands. T. all his neighbours even did not know (i.e. his character or anything about him), but of you the envoys there is no Greek or foreigner who does not say that you have received money from the embassy:' if therefore the lines apply to him, *a fortiori* to you.

οὐδεὶς Ἕ. οὐδὲ β.] i.e. all the world knows: infr. 268, 317: 18. 202 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων; ib. 315 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων; Cf. *n.* to 83.

ἡ παρά] 'that of the many,' as ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος &c. supr. 234.

There is perhaps some truth in Reiske's remark that ὁ τ. ποιήσας was added lest the hearers should understand ὁ ποιητής of Homer, the Poet κατ' ἐξοχήν. Cf. Justin. *Instit.* 1. 2, 'sicuti cum poetam dicimus nec addimus nomen, subauditur apud Graecos egregius Homerus, apud nos Vergilius.'

σοφός] infr. 248.

§ 245. **ἐπέραινεν**] Aesch. 1. 152: 'Again, you will remember he collected some iambic lines and repeat-

"ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται κακοῖς ἀνήρ, οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἥδεται ξυνών." εἶτα τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρνεις εἰσιόντα καὶ μετὰ Πιτταλάκου περιιόντα, καὶ τοιαῦτ' εἰπών, ἀγνοεῖτ', ἔφη, ποῖόν τινα ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ; οὐκοῦν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ταῦθ' ἁρμόσει νῦν ἐμοί, κἂν ἐγὼ λέγω πρὸς τούτους, ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐρῶ, ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται, καὶ ταῦτα πρεσβεύων, Φιλοκράτει, οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα γιγνώσκων ὅτι ἀργύριον εἴληφ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ Φιλοκράτης ὁ ὁμολογῶν.

246 Λογογράφους τοίνυν καὶ σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους

ed them.' In his 1st ed. Sh. understood ἐπέραινεν in the sense of 'to conclude,' 'draw a syllogistic inference,' and tr. 'collected certain iambic lines and proceeded to found sundry conclusions thereupon.' But he now rightly gives up this as too artificial. Cf. Pl. *Hipp. Maj.* ch. 56 λόγον...περαίνειν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ: *Menex.* 236 B Ἀσπασίας...ἠκροώμην περαινούσης ἐπιτάφιον λόγου: Arist. *Ranae* 1170 πέραινε τοίνυν ἕτερον (πρόλογον). The passage is from Eurip. *Phoenix* frag. 4.

With **οἷσπερ** comp. Pl. *Rep.* 349 D τοιοῦτος ἄρα ἐστὶν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ὅσπερ ἔοικεν: *Phaed.* 92 B οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἁρμονία γέ σοι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ᾧ ἀπεικάζεις i.e. οἷον ᾧ ἀπεικάζεις: Dem. 6. 36 ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν i.e. οἷος ἦν δι' ὅν.

εἰς τοὺς ὄρνεις] 'Then the man who frequents the cockpits and goes about in company with P. (a town slave given to such things, Aesch. 1. 54)—these and such like were the words he used—don't you know, said he, what sort of a person you ought to think him?' Reiske and Sch. understand εἰς τοὺς ὄρνεις to be 'into the bird market,' as ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας 'to the upholstery mart' (Theophr. *Ch.* 6 Jebb); εἰς τοὖψον; ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν (*Vesp.* 789). But Aesch. 1. 53 διημέρευεν ἐν τῷ κυβείῳ οὗ ἡ τηλία τίθεται καὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας συμβάλλουσι καὶ κυβεύουσιν, and ib. § 59, make the other tr. more probable. Cf. Becker *Charicles* Engl. Tr. p. 64; Heind. on Pl. *Lysis* c. 20.

ὁ ὁμολογῶν] Supr. 114.

§§ 246—250. *He called other people speech writers and sophists, epithets which fit himself. For these verses occur in a play which was not in the repertory of the company he belonged to: but there were other lines in a part he has often played himself, which it would have been well if he had taken for his guidance on the embassy. But though he knew these well and ought to have acted on them, were it only for his mother's sake, he did just the reverse.*

λογογράφους] 'when he calls by way of disparagement,' 'stigmatizes others as speech writers and sophists.' Aesch. 1. 94, 125, 175 τῷ σοφιστῇ; 2. 165 λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα μισθοῦ: ib. 180 τῷ λογογράφῳ καὶ Σκύθῃ. On the first passage the Schol. says οὐκ ἦν ἀστεῖον οὐδὲ ἐπαινετὸν τὸ λογογράφειν οὐδὲ τὸ συνηγορεῖν μισθοῦ. That in Plato's time some amount of discredit, in some quarters at least, attached to the profession of a λογογράφος, just as there does still to that of a 'journalist' for example among ourselves, may be inferred from *Phaedr.* 257 C καὶ γάρ τις αὐτὸν (Lysias)...ἔναγχος τῶν πολιτικῶν τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λοιδορῶν ὠνείδιζε καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς λοιδορίας ἐκάλει λογόγραφον; also *Euthyd.* 305 B. Isocr. 15. 41 speaks of the λογογράφοι as a numerous body, παμπληθεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ παρασκευάζοντες τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνιζομέ-

καὶ ὑβρίζειν πειρώμενος, αὐτὸς ἐξελεγχθήσεται τούτοις ὢν 418
ἔνοχος. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ἐκ Φοίνικός ἐστιν Εὐρι-
πίδου· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα οὐδὲ πώποτε οὔτε Θεόδωρος οὔτε
Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίναντο, οἷς οὗτος τὰ τρίτα λέγων διετέ-
λεσεν, ἀλλὰ Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἴ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν
παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους πολλάκις
μὲν Θεόδωρος πολλάκις δὲ Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέκριται, ἐν ᾗ
πεποιημένα ἰαμβεῖα καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως ὑμῖν πολλάκις
247 αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παρέλιπεν. ἴστε
γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς
ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς
τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι. ταῦτα

νοις, and agrees with Plato as to the estimation in which they were held. Cf. ib. 31 where he says his accusers hoped to create an impression against him on this ground, ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια πραγματείας εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος ὑμᾶς καταστήσειν, and § 35. Cf. Dr Thompson in the pref. to his edition of the *Phaedrus*, p. 27.

On the *word* σοφιστής see Mr Sandys' note to Isocr. 4. 3. It is applied by Aeschines to his rival as a teacher of Rhetoric, which was becoming its popular meaning. Aesch. 1. 117 ὁ τὰς τῶν λόγων τέχνας κατέπαγγελλόμενος τοὺς νέους διδάσκειν: ib. 173 ᾧ παρακεκλημένοι τινὲς τῶν μαθητῶν ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, and 175. Dem. 35. 40 εἴ τις βούλεται σοφιστὴς εἶναι καὶ Ἰσοκράτει ἀργύριον ἀναλίσκειν.

ἀποκαλῶ lit. 'to call aside,' 'misname;' hence 'to call names,' 'to call by an offensive or disparaging name,' which is brought out in the Pl. *Gorg.* 512 c ὡς ἐν ὀνείδει ἀποκαλέσαις ἂν μαχαιροποιόν. Cf. infr. 305: Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6. 13 καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας σοφιστὰς ὥσπερ πόρνους ἀποκαλοῦσιν; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 47 ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με (for which in § 31 Critias says κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται: cf. *Mem.* 1. 2. 6 ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπεκάλει). Later writers neglecting the force of the preposition use the verb in a good sense; and so even Xen. *de re eq.* c. 10. 17 οἱ θεώμενοι τὸν ἵππον τοιοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦσιν ἐλευθέριόν τε καὶ ἐθελουργόν, and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 2. 9. 7 τοὺς χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνδρώδεις ἀποκαλοῦμεν. Cf. Theophr. ch. 21 κακῶς λέγειν ἀποκαλῶν ('misnaming') παρρησίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν.

τὰ τρίτα] 'used to play the third parts:' § 200 ἐπὶ τῷ τριταγωνιστεῖν: 18. 262.—The Molon mentioned in Arist. *Ranae* 55 πόθος; πόσος τις; μικρὸς ἡλίκος (of course he was very tall) Μόλων, is supposed by some to be the actor here spoken of.

εἴ δή τις] sc. ἠγωνίζετο: 'and whoever else of the old players.'—Aristodemus is possibly the person mentioned in § 12.

ἐξεπιστάμενος] 'knowing them perfectly by heart;' so § 250.

§ 247. τοὺς τ...εἰσιέναι] Taking offence at the article, Valckenär proposed to read τὸ τούτους (i. ἔ. τριταγωνιστὰς) τυράννους καὶ τὰ σκ. ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι 'to come on as kings....' Dobree τὸ τυράννους καὶ σκ. ἔχοντας: and Sh. is only withheld from agreeing with Valcken. by Thom. Mag. p. 273 εἰσῄει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ ὑπέδυ κάλλιον ἂν εἴποις ἢ ὑπεκρίθη, as he thinks it probable the Grammarian had passages before him from authors not now extant. I cannot see any difficulty in the article, which

τοίνυν ἐν τῷ δράματι τούτῳ σκέψασθε ὁ Κρέων Αἰσχίνης οἷα λέγων πεποίηται τῷ ποιητῇ, ἃ οὔτε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὗτος ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας διελέχθη οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς εἶπεν. λέγε.

ΙΑΜΒΕΙΑ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΣ.

ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν
ψυχήν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν
ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβὴς φανῇ.
ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὅστις πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν
μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἅπτεται βουλευμάτων,
ἀλλ' ἐκ φόβου τοῦ γλῶσσαν ἐγκλείσας ἔχει,
κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ·
καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ πάτρας
φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω. 419
ἐγὼ γάρ, ἴστω Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ' ὁρῶν ἀεί,
οὔτ' ἂν σιωπήσαιμι τὴν ἄτην ὁρῶν
στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας,
οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονός
θείμην ἐμαυτῷ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων, ὅτι
ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σώζουσα, καὶ ταύτης ἔπι
πλέοντες ὀρθῆς τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα.

248 Τούτων οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνης εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς πόλεως τὴν Φιλίππου ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν

refers to ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δ. τοῖς τρ., 'in the parts of the Kings and potentates *in them*.' We may comp. with Markland Hor. *Sat.* 1. 63 'saltare Cyclopa,' and the similar expression in Hor. 2 *Epp.* 2. 125 'nunc Satyrum nunc agrestem Cyclopa movere.' 2 *Sat.* 3. 61 'Ilionam edormit.' Tr. 'You are of course aware that in all tragic dramas it is reserved as a sort of special privilege for third actors to come on in the parts of the tyrants and potentates,' as they were generally subordinate characters; conspicuously so in the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Electra* of Sophocles, &c.

ὁ Κρέων Ἀ.] 'See then what these iambics are in this play which the poet has put in the mouth of Kreon-Æschines—verses which he neither conned over for use (guidance) on the embassy nor repeated to the Jurors.' The lines are taken from the *Antigone* v. 175 sq.

π. τῷ ποιητῇ] Cf. 20 *note*.

§ 248. ἀντὶ...τῆς π.] applying to Aeschines the words of the poet ἀντὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ πάτρας. It is strange that Sch. should call this a 'rarior constructio.' Cf. Xen. *Rep. Laced.* c. 9. 1 αἱρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου: Soph. *Trach.* 874: Eur. *Suppl.* 429: Arist. *Vesp.* 210 ἢ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν τηρεῖν Σκιώνην ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ πατρός, the preposition expressing the choice made when the alternative is pre-

πολλῷ μείζονα ἡγήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ λυσιτελεστέραν, ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ, τὴν δὲ ἄτην ὁρῶν στείχουσαν ὁμοῦ, τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέας στρατείαν, οὐ προεῖπεν οὐδὲ προεξήγγειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον συνέκρυψε καὶ συνέπραξε
249 καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους εἰπεῖν διεκώλυσεν, οὐκ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὅτι ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σώζουσα καὶ ταύτης ἔπι τελοῦσα μὲν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ καθαίρουσα καὶ καρπουμένη τὰς τῶν χρωμένων οἰκίας ἐξέθρεψε τοσούτους τουτουσί, διδάσκων δ' ὁ

sented. So πρό Pl. *Crito*, 54 B παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ...πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου. Tr. 'but instead of his country he considered the friendship (§ 140) of P. as much more valuable and advantageous to himself (cf. 18. 109), bidding a long farewell to the wise S.' 21. 39 ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις εἰπὼν καὶ ὑμῖν: 18. 152: 5. 22.

σοφός, as the Lat. 'doctus,' is an ordinary epithet of the poet: supr. § 244 of Hesiod: Pind. *Ol.* 1. 9: *Pyth.* 1. 42: Xen. *Conv.* c. 4. 6 Ὅμηρος ὁ σοφώτατος: Pl. *Phaedr.* 235 C Ἀνακρέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ καὶ συγγραφέων (prose writers) τινῶν: Cic. *Cat. Maj.* 15 'doctus Hesiodus:' Hor. 1 *Carm.* 1 fin. 'doctarum frontium,' 'of poets' brows.'

ὁμοῦ] 'advancing nigh' (§ 155), from which Sh. and Dobree plausibly conj. that Dem. had ἄσσον in his copy instead of ἀστοῖς.

διεκώλυσεν] This refers to the suppression of the letter Dem. wished to send home (§ 174), while the letter they did send by its false statements helped to keep the Athenians in the dark.

§ 249. **ταύτης ἔπι**] 'and in it his mother initiating and purifying and making a profit from the houses of those that employed her.' Cf. § 199: 18. 259 καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν 'ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον.'

οἰκίας, if right, must be tr. as above, the word being only used, as Sh. observes, in the sense of 'dwelling house,' or as in 2. 14, ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν 'against the dominant House.' Markland very plausibly conj. οὐσίας, which Sh. now inserts in the text. The passages quoted by Vöm. to show that οἰκία can mean 'substance' (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 4. 1. 2 οἰκίαν τε καλῶς οἰκεῖν καὶ πόλιν, where the single house or family is meant, and ib. 1. 1. 7, where we have τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκήσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι, i.e. the help of μαντική is required in order that a man may be a successful οἰκόνομος and statesman, and ib. 1. 2 fin.) surely do not prove his point. The distinction between οἶκος 'res familiaris' and οἰκία 'the dwelling house' is clearly marked in 27. 4 and 5 τὴν ... μητέρα πεντήκοντα μνᾶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσενηνεγμένην, 'brought to the estate a portion of 40 minas' (cf. 41. 4 ἅπερ ἦν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν εἰσενηνεγμένος, said of an adopted son), and τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ σκεύεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς 'the use of my house and furniture:' Xen. *Oecon.* c. 1. 5: c. 6. 4 οἶκος δ' ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο ὅπερ κτῆσις ἡ σύμπασα. In 18. 129, where Dem. indulges in more unmeasured abuse of Aeschines and his family, the mother is represented as a common prostitute; but he apparently knows nothing of this at the time he delivered this speech or merely hints it, at the most, by using the ambiguous τῶν χρωμένων. I understand him therefore to say that she availed herself of the weakness and superstition of those who came to her rites and enriched herself at their expense.

τοσούτους] proleptic, 'to be so

πατὴρ γράμματα, ὡς ἐγὼ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούω, πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ, ὅπως ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ γε ἔζη, ὑπογραμματεύοντες δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀργύριον εἰλήφεσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραμματεῖς χειροτονηθέντες δύ' ἔτη διετράφησαν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ,

fine,' 'these fine sons of hers.' So Dobree, quoting Arist. *Eq.* 415 τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφείην. K. has 'all these sons;' but this does not suit καρπουμένη...so well.

δ. γράμματα] 'teaching letters,' 'keeping a school' in which children were taught the first elements. Pl. *Prot.* 325 D: *Legg.* 810 B γράμματα ...χρὴ τὸ μέχρι τοῦ γρᾶψαί τε καὶ ἀναγνῶναι δυνατὸν εἶναι διαπονεῖν: Arist. *Vesp.* 960: *Equit.* 188. Becker *Charicles*, Engl. Tr. p. 188. In 18. 129, when refutation had become more difficult, Dem. was able to say that Ae.'s father was one Tromes, a slave belonging to Elpias τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ (not as here πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω) διδάσκοντι γράμματα, and with his son waited on the school. Afterwards, when ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, he changed his father's name to Atrometus and his mother's to Glaucothea, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην. What Dem. says here is probable enough, as Ae. tells us that his father, who was still alive at the age of 94, had been driven into exile under the Thirty and lost all his property; so that he may have taken to this way of earning a livelihood.

πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω.] In 18. 129 he says, ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι χρωμένη. So Bekk. st. and Dind.; but Sch. rightly brings the passage into agreement with this by reading καλαμίτῃ Ἥρῳ; the other reading having arisen from a misapprehension of the meaning of καλαμίτης, which was probably a low term for 'chirurgeon,' from the κάλαμοι (καλαμίσκοι) used in surgery. The 'quack doctor' is in harmony with the darker features of the picture there drawn. Vöm., supposing a hero 'Iatrus,' reads πρὸς τῷ (the chapel) τοῦ ἥρω τοῦ Ἰατροῦ 'ad herois medici fanum.' Dind. reads πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἥρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ, the translation of which he discreetly leaves to his readers. For the ellipse cf. infr. 303 ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου: 43. 19 χωρὶς ἕκαστος ᾤκει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων. Arist. *Ach.* 1236 εἰς τὸν Πιττάλου, and Eur. *Bacch.* 1368 εἰς τὸν Ἀρισταίου, are doubtful.

ὅπως ἠδύνατο] 'lived as well as he could, but at all events lived in this city:' 2. 16 οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται; 21. 140 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὅπως δύναται ζῶντι; Pl. *Hipp. Maj.* 301 C τοιαῦτα τὰ ἡμέτερά ἐστιν, οὐχ οἷα βούλεταί τις, φασὶν ἄνθρωποι ἑκάστοτε παροιμιαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἷα δύναται: *Cratyl.* 425 C τὸ λεγόμενον, κατὰ δύναμιν, where see Heindorf.

ἀλλ' οὖν...γε] 'yet at any rate:' *n.* to 9. 30.

ἐν ταύτῃ] According to Stallb. (on *Gorg.* 468 E) 'Athenienses ubi Athenis sunt urbem suam dicunt τήνδε τὴν πόλιν: ubi vero ταύτην τὴν πόλιν nominant, significatur urbs certa modo obiter nominata et ab aliis distinguenda aut opposita alii, quae si memorabitur dicetur ἐκείνη.' But cf. Lys. 5. 3: Andoc. 2. 3, 4 ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἑτέρων, οἵοι εἰσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ: Antiph. 5. 9: 6. 2, 8, 42, 45: Aesch. 3. 7 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει.

ταῖς ἀρχαῖς] Cf. § 200. In 18. 261 we have the more contemptuous τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις.

χειροτονηθέντες] Cf. § 98.

ἐν τῇ θόλῳ] 'were maintained in the Rotunda,' where the Prytanes and their officials daily dined; Pl. *Apol.* 32 C: infr. 314 ὁ τέως προσκυνῶν τὴν θόλον. Such references to, and criticisms of, the lives of the ac-

250 πρεσβεύων δ' ἀπέσταλτο νῦν οὗτος ἐκ ταύτης. τούτων οὐδὲν ἐσκέψατο, οὐδ' ὅπως ὀρθὴ πλεύσεται προείδετο, ἀλλ' ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέδυσε καὶ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῖς 420
ἐχθροῖς ἔσται παρεσκεύασεν. εἶτ' οὐ σὺ σοφιστής, καὶ πονηρός γε; οὐ σὺ λογογράφος, καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός γε; ὃς ἃ μὲν πολλάκις ἠγωνίσω καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξηπίστασο, ὑπερέβης, ἃ δ' οὐδὲ πώποτ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὑπεκρίνω, ταῦτα ζητήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάψαι τινὰ εἰς μέσον ἤνεγκας;

251 Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὃν εἶπε λόγον σκέψασθε. ἔφη τὸν Σόλωνα ἀνακεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν τότε δημηγορούντων σωφροσύνης παράδειγμα, εἴσω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντα ἀναβεβλημένον, ἐπιπλήττων τι καὶ λοιδορούμενος τῇ τοῦ Τιμάρχου προπετείᾳ. καίτοι τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον οὔπω

cused and their families, though ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος, were often made on the principle enounced by Cicero 'dabit tacite acta vita in alterutram partem nobis firmum et grave testimonium,' *pr, Rosc. Com.* 6. 17. Cf. Dem. 22. 23: 45. 63: 58. 27: Andoc. 4. 10: Cic. *Phil.* 2. 17. 43. Dem. (21. 130) has a catalogue of the misdoings of Midias read to the Jury. Lycurgus on the other hand (*c. Leocr.* 149) says he will not have recourse to such a line of attack. Cf. Lys. 14. §§ 23 and 24 (Frohberger), and comp. Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 3. § 13 sq.

νῦν] 'but now,' as § 65.

§ 250. For **πλεύσεται** some inferior MSS. have πλευσεῖται. Cf. Veitch s.v.

τὸ καθ' αὑτόν] See on § 119: 'none of these things did he consider nor took care that she should sail steadily but overturned and sank her and as far as he was able (did his best to) put her in the power of her enemies.'

καὶ...γε] 'and a vile one too.'

εἰς μέσον ἤ.] 'quoted for the purpose of.'

§§ 251—254. *He alluded to the attitude of Solon in his statue at Salamis. It would have been better for you if instead of giving you an imitation of the statue he had taken Solon's heart and mind for his model. But what a contrast between Solon's conduct in reference to Salamis and what Ae. did in regard to Amphipolis!*

τοῦ Σόλωνος] The article is used on account of his eminence. Arist. *Vesp.* 1186: Dem. 20. 90, 93: and so frequently in the Orators: Dem. 3. 21: Aesch. 1. 25. Dem. here refers to Aesch. 1. 25 ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Σαλαμινίων ἀνάκειται ὁ Σόλων ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων.

ἀνακεῖσθαι] Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 51 εὑρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας: ib. 137 τὴν εἰκόνα...τὴν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνακειμένην, κεῖσθαι being almost invariably used instead of the perf. pass. of τίθημι.

On **εἴσω**, for which Aesch. l.c. has ἐντός, cf. L. and S. s.v. 'He said we have an illustration of the sobriety of the speakers of that day in the statue of Solon with his mantle drawn round him and his hand within its folds;' the *or. recta* being εἴσω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἀναβέβληται. Cf. Mr Jebb's note on Theoph. *Ch.* 29.

προπετείᾳ] 'the forwardness of T.,' opposed to the σωφροσύνη, 'the

πεντήκοντα ἔτη φασὶν ἀνακεῖσθαι Σαλαμίνιοι, ἀπὸ Σόλωνος δὲ ὁμοῦ διακόσιά ἐστιν ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντα εἰς τὸν νυνὶ παρόντα χρόνον, ὥσθ' ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ τοῦτο πλάσας τὸ σχῆμα οὐ μόνον οὐκ αὐτὸς ἦν κατ' ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ
52 πάππος αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμιμήσατο· ὃ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος ἦν τούτου πολλῷ τῇ πόλει λυσιτελέστερον, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν Σόλωνος ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ταύτην οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον. ἐκεῖνος μέν γε ἀφεστηκυίας Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων, καὶ θάνατον ζημίαν ψηφισαμένων ἄν τις εἴπῃ κομίζεσθαι, τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον ὑποθεὶς ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας ᾔδε, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔσωσε τῇ πόλει, τὴν δ' ὑπάρχουσαν αἰσχύνην ἀπήλλαξεν.
53 οὗτος δ', ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἔγνωσαν, Ἀμφίπολιν, ταύτην ἐξέδωκε καὶ ἀπέδοτο καὶ τῷ 421
ταῦτα γράφοντι συνεῖπε Φιλοκράτει. ἄξιόν γε ἦν Σόλωνος αὐτῷ μεμνῆσθαι. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν,

decorous, sober demeanour' of the speakers of Solon's day: 22. 63 τῇ σαυτοῦ προπετείᾳ καὶ θρασύτητι λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν: 23. 130.

ὁμοῦ] 'nearly;' § 155.

κατ' ἐκεῖνον] 'a contemporary of Solon:' 21. 146 οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι; Tyrtaeus *frag.* 9. 39 νέοι οἵ τε κατ' αὐτὸν...οἵ τε παλαίτεροι.

§ 252. **ἐμιμήσατο**] 'gave an imitation of it,' 'enacted it.' Comp. 18. 232 οὐκ ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος.

ταύτην refers not to τὸ...ἰδεῖν, but to διάνοιαν. Comp. the very similar ex. in Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 15 ὅτι, ᾧ πλεῖστον διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῷ πρός τε τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ὁσίως καὶ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοτίμως ἔχειν, τούτων (i.e. gods, parents, country) πλεῖστον αμελεῖν δόξαιτ' ἄν.

πᾶν τ.] 'but quite the contrary:' § 2.

μέν γε] Supr. § 148. For the incident here mentioned see Thirl. 2. 24. Tr. 'and they had decreed death as a punishment (§ 127) in case anyone should propose to recover it, at the risk of his life composed and chanted an elegy.'

ὑποθεὶς] 'having staked his life on it,' from the use of the word to denote the mortgaging of property. 28. 17 ὑποθεὶς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τἀμαυτοῦ πάντα.

τὴν ὑ. αἰσχύνην] as § 217.

§ 253. **βασιλεύς**] Cf. § 137 *note.* So D. 7. 29 τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὡμολογήκασιν ἡμετέραν εἶναι: Aesch. 2. 32, where it is said that Amyntas, the father of Philip, ἐψηφίσατο Ἀμφίπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων συνεξαιρεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις. This was in the autumn of B.C. 371, when the general peace was resworn at Athens under Athenian presidency. Grote 10. 336.

ἐξέδωκε] Cf. § 257.

ἄξιόν γε] 'Truly it was worth his while!' In illustration of this use of γε in expressing irony cf. 18. 136 ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ: ib. 266: 21. 209 ταχύ γ' ἂν χαρίσαιντο, οὐ γάρ; 22. 73.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐλθὼν οὐδὲ τοὔνομα ἐφθέγξατο τῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ
ἧς ἐπρέσβευεν. καὶ ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς·
μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου λέγοντ' αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως
εἶχον μὲν κἀγὼ λέγειν, ἵνα δ' ἐγγένηται Δημοσθένει περὶ
254 αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν, παρέλιπον. ἐγὼ δὲ παρελθὼν οὐδὲν ἔφην
τοῦτον ὧν ἐβούλετ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμοὶ παραλιπεῖν·
θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν τοῦ αἵματος ἢ λόγου μεταδοῦναί τινι. ἀλλ'
οἶμαι, χρήματ' εἰληφότα οὐκ ἦν ἀντιλέγειν πρὸς Φίλιππον
τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου δεδωκότα, ὅπως ἐκείνην μὴ ἀποδῷ. λέγε δή
μοι λαβὼν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖα ταυτί, ἵν' ἴδηθ' ὅτι
καὶ Σόλων ἐμίσει τοὺς οἷος οὗτος ἀνθρώπους.
255 Οὐ λέγειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ', Αἰσχίνη, δεῖ, οὔ, ἀλλὰ
πρεσβεύειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντα. σὺ δ' ἐκεῖ προτείνας
καὶ ὑποσχὼν καὶ καταισχύνας τούτους ἐνθάδε σεμνολογεῖ,
καὶ λογάρια δύστηνα μελετήσας καὶ φωνασκήσας οὐκ οἴει

τῆς χώρας] i.e. Amphipolis. This according to Aeschines is untrue. He says he proved the title of Athens to Amphipolis, and showed by documentary evidence that Amyntas, Philip's father, had allowed it, but that on their way home, Dem. who had broken down in his speech, earnestly entreated him *μὴ παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεώς τι καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴποι* 2. 43. Grote 11. 529: Thirl. 5. 343.

ἵνα ἐγγ.] On the conj. see § 77: 'that D. might have an opportunity of speaking on the subject.'

§ 254. **ὑπὲρ τούτου** is explained by *ὅπως...ἀποδῷ*: 'who had given it on purpose that he might not restore the place.' Madv. 123.

τοὺς οἷος οὗτος] Cf. supr. 186: 24. 185 *οὐδ' οἷός περ σὺ χρώμενοι συμβούλοις* (so Bekk. st.: all the MSS. have *οἵοις περ*): Aesch. 2. 151 *τρισμυρίους..... οἷός περ σύ*; so Bekk.; Schultz with the best MSS. *οἵουσπερ*, which, as *οἵοις περ* in 24. 185, is perhaps to be preferred. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 16 *οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἱωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων*: Arist. *Ach.* 601 *νεανίας δ' οἵους σύ* (so the MSS.: the edd. *οἷος σύ*): and in Dem. 22. 64 the best MSS. have *τοὺς οἵουσπερ οὗτος*. Pl. *Symp.* 219 D *ἀνθρώπῳ τοιούτῳ οἵῳ ἐγώ*.

§ 255. **οὐ...οὔ**] Cf. § 232. 'To speak with the hand within the robe is not what is needful, no! but to go upon an embassy with it so, is. But you after putting it out and holding it open there, and disgracing your countrymen, preach here!' Dem. elsewhere girds at the pompous manner and style of Aeschines. Cf. § 23: 18. 258: infr. 314. Sh. appositely quotes Arist. *Thesm.* 936 *ὦ πρύτανι, πρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἡνπερ φιλεῖς κοίλην προτείνειν, ἀργύριον ἤν τις διδῷ*, and *Pax* 906. See also *Eq.* 1082 *τὴν τούτου χεῖρ' ἐποίησεν Κυλλήνην ὀρθῶς, ὁτιή φησ', ἔμβαλε κυλλῇ*.

μελετήσας] 'got up,' 'conned over,' 'studied:' Lat. *meditari*: Pl. *Phaedr.* 228 B *ἐπορεύετο δ' ἐκτὸς τείχους ἵνα μελετῴη (τὸν λόγον)*; Dem. 21. 191 *ἐσκέφθαι...καὶ μεμελετηκέναι γ' ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα ἐμοί*: and Plutarch *vit. Sol.* c. 8, quoted below.

What is meant by **φωνασκήσας** is clear from Quintil. 11. 3. 22, and Cic. *de Orat.* 1. § 251 'cotidie, antequam pronuntient, vocem cubantes

δίκην δώσειν τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἂν πιλίδιον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περινοστῇς καὶ ἐμοὶ λοιδορῇ. λέγε σύ.

ΕΛΕΓΕΙΑ.

ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται
αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει.
αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
ἀστοὶ βούλονται, χρήμασι πειθόμενοι. 422
δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον
ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν.
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, οὐδὲ παρούσας
εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.

sensim excitant, eandemque quum egerunt sedentes ab acutissimo sono usque ad gravissimum sonum recipiunt et quasi quodammodo colligunt.' Cf. Dem. 18. 280, 308.

τηλικούτων καὶ τ.] Cf. § 19: 'so heinous and so many.'

πιλίδιον λαβών...] suggesting a satirical comparison between Ae. and Solon, who as Plutarch tells us (*vit. Sol.* c. 8) *ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἔκστασιν τῶν λογισμῶν* (madness), *καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη παρακινητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτόν. ἐλεγεῖα δὲ κρύφα συνθεὶς καὶ μελετήσας, ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω πιλίδιον περιθέμενος*: and at the same time referring to the pretended illness of Aeschines supr. § 124. Pl. *Rep.* 426 D *ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῷ* (the sick man) *μικρὰν δίαιταν προστάττῃ πιλίδιά τε περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτιθεὶς καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα,...οὐ σχολὴ κάμνειν.*

On **αἶσα** cf. Mr Gladstone's *Juv. Mundi*, p. 357.

τοίη γάρ] Archil. *frag.* 8 and 37 *τοῖον γὰρ αὐλὴν ἕρκος ἀμφιδέδρομεν.* Aristophanes obviously alludes to these lines in *Eq.* 1173 sq.

αὐτοί] 'themselves,' not Zeus or an irresistible fate.

ἀστοί] the Eupatridae or *populus*)(the δῆμος or *plebs*.

With **μεγάλην πόλιν** comp. Pind. *Pyth.* 7. 1 *αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι.*

ἑτοῖμον] 'for whom it is prepared,' 'ordained,' as in Homer, quoted by L. and S. Andoc. 3. 41 *εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀρέσκει τούτων, πολεμεῖν ἕτοιμον*: ib. 26 *βοηθούντων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς Ἄργος οὐχ ἕτοιμον μάχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις*; 'inevitable.' For the sentiment comp. Sol. *frag.* 12. 16 *οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει.*

κόρον] Cf. Sol. *frag.* 7 *τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἕπηται*: and elsewhere so frequently as to pass into a *παροιμία*: Aristotle, ap. Stob. *Floril.* 3. 54, *τίκτει γάρ, ὥσπερ φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, κόρος μὲν ὕβριν, ἀπαιδευσία δὲ μετ' ἐξουσίας ἄνοιαν*: the poetical form of which we have in Theognis v. 153 *τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἕπηται ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ*: and v. 321, quoted below. Elsewhere *ὕβρις* is the parent of *κόρος*. Pind. *Olymp.* 13. 10 *Ὕβριν, κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον*: Aesch. *Agam.* 765. Cf. Don. *New Cratyl.* § 335. With this pass. comp. Pind. *Olymp.* 1. 55 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρῳ δ' ἕλεν ἅταν ὑπέροπλον.*

εὐφροσύνας with *δαιτός*, 'nor to order in quiet the delights of the feast while enjoying them.' Theogn.

πλουτοῦσιν δ' ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι.
οὔθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων
φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν, ἐφ' ἁρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.
οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ δίκης θέμεθλα,
ἣ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτισαμένη.
τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον.
εἰς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην,
ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὕδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,
ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.
ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι φίλους.
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά, τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν
ἱκνοῦνται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν
πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες.
οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἑκάστῳ,
αὐλειοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,
ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ὑπέρθορεν. εὗρε δὲ πάντως,
εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῷ ᾖ θαλάμου.

321 εἰ δὲ θεὸς κακῷ ἀνδρὶ βίον καὶ πλοῦτον ὀπάσσῃ, ἀφραίνων κακίην οὐ δύναται κατέχειν.

ἐφ' ἁρπαγῇ] 'with violence:' Soph. *El.* 108 ἐπὶ κωκυτῷ: Eur. *Ion* 228 ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις μήλοισι 'with sheep unslaughtered.'

φυλάσσονται] 'take care of,' i.e. 'observe,' 'keep.' Sh. quotes Aesch. *Suppl.* 1012 μόνον φυλάξαι τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς πατρός, and Arist. *Equit.* 1059 τὸν (the lion) σὺ φυλάξαι. Cf. also Lys. 14. 45.

As it is unlikely that Solon would depart from the Epic prosody, Bergk is probably right in reading θέμεθλα δίκης.

ἦλθ' ἀποτισαμένη]=ἦλθε καὶ ἀπετίσατο according to the principle elucidated by Madv. 183 r. 2: 'she comes in vengeance.' Cf. Sol. *frag.* 12. 7 ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη, and ib. 25 sq. I see no reason for Bergk's ἀποτισομένη.

τοῦτ' ἤδη] i.e. when she does so come, her visitation falls on the whole state.

πόλεμον εὕδοντ'] Simonid. *frag.* 44. 15 εὐδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν. Sh. aptly compares *Henry V.* Act 1. Sc. 2 'therefore take heed...how you awake our sleeping sword of war.'

φίλους] Vöm., with Bergk, reads φίλαις, and understands the poet to speak 'de societatibus malorum demagogorum, ubi valeat superbia. Sic causa praecedentis distichi redditur. Namque ex insolentia factionum et bella civilia exoriuntur.' Retaining φίλους we must tr. 'wastes away in contests with those who wrong their friends,' the dative being governed by συνόδοις. Madv. 37. r. 3.

πενιχρῶν] Thirl. 2. c. 11. He says himself in *frag.* 35 πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως, ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὕπο χρησμὸν (i. e. an unintelligible jargon) λέγοντας, γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους, ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα.

For εἴ γε which leaves the line in-

ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
ὡς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει δυσνομία παρέχει,
εὐνομία δ' εὔκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας,
τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ, 423
αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,
εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα
πραΰνει, παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης,
παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον· ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πιστά.

256 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων οἷα Σόλων λέγει, καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὓς φησι τὴν πόλιν σώζειν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σώζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν· τρόπον δέ τινα ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὰ νῦν συμβεβηκότα πάντ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθύναις ταυταισὶ δαιμονίας τινὸς εὐνοίας

complete I follow Vöm. and Dind. in reading *εἰ καί*, *καί* being I think necessary after *πάντως*. Dem. appears to have had the passage in view in 18. 97 *πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ*. Cf. Callinus *frag.* 1. 15.

With the Homeric *θαλάμοιο μυχός*, *μυχὸς θαλάμων* before him, it is impossible to believe that Solon wrote *ἐν μυχῷ ἢ θαλάμῳ*. I read *ἐν μυχῷ ἢ θαλάμου* with Bergk. The individual citizen cannot escape his share in the public calamity (Thuc. 2. 60); it unfailingly discovers him though he try to escape from it by hiding in the seclusion of his chamber.

εὔκοσμα...] 'universal order and harmony.'

ἄτης] 'of infatuation.'

δ. σκολιάς] Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 220 *σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας*.

§§ 256—267. *Such are the sentiments of Solon about such men as Aeschines and about the gods, who he says protect our city. And in some sort I believe that the circumstances of this trial are a proof that they do so. Instead of defending himself in a constitutional way Ae. disgraced one who came forward as his accuser, for which he will now justly meet with no pity at your hands. On that occasion he was unmeasured in abuse of me. The result is that I shall be received with more indulgence in the delicate task I have undertaken of accusing a colleague. Again, by various artifices he pushed off his trial till now, only that he might be brought to a crisis when it is impossible for you, seeing the disastrous consequences at Olynthus and elsewhere of subservience to Philip, to acquit him.*

μὲν...**δέ**] 'For myself, while believing, and hoping that this statement is for ever true that the Gods do preserve Athens (Aesch. 3. 130), in some sort I believe also that...' Cf. 2. 1 *δαιμονίᾳ τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ*. In particular, the favour of heaven, counteracting the effects of their **δυσβουλία**, is often dwelt on. Arist. *Eccles.* 476: *Nub.* 585: Dem. 4. 12 *ἥπερ* (i.e. *τύχη*) *δεῖ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα*: 2. 22: 18. 253.

257 ἔνδειγμα τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γάρ. ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρεσβεύσας, καὶ χώρας ἐκδεδωκὼς ἐν αἷς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ἠτίμωσεν ὑπακούσαντά τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον. διὰ τί; ἵνα μήτε ἐλέου μήτε συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἠδίκηκε τύχῃ. ἀλλὰ καὶ κατηγορῶν ἐκείνου κακῶς λέγειν προείλετο ἐμέ, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γραφὰς ἀποίσειν καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἠπείλει. ἵνα τί; ἵν' ὡς μετὰ πλείστης συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν ὁ τὰ τούτου πονηρεύματ' ἀκριβέστατα εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ παρηκολου-
258 θηκὼς ἅπασι κατηγορῶ. ἀλλὰ καὶ διακρουόμενος πάντα

For the asyndeton after **σκ. γάρ** see supr. § 53.

§ 257. **πολλὰ καὶ δ. πρ.**] In the passive supr. § 240 *note*.

For the combination of the aorist and perfect participles cf. on § 206.

χώρας] Amphipolis (§ 253) and Phocis.

προσῆκεν] 'ought to have been still honoured,' Madv. 118.

ὑπακούσαντα] 'who appeared in court against him,' 'obeyed his challenge.' Sch. understands the word differently; 'Orator dicit Timarchum non sponte suâ, non ut petulantem sycophantam, sed rogatum ab amicis invitatumque a bonis civibus ad accusandum Aeschinem prodiisse:' and so Sh., and Vöm. who refers to § 290 οὐδ' ὑπακοῦσαι καλούμενος ἤθελες. But the addition of καλούμενος makes a difference, and the context there leaves no doubt as to the person who made the call. Here the hearer would naturally, I think, refer ὑπακούσαντα to ἠτίμωσεν, and understand the call to come from Aeschines, whose audit was in fact a challenge to anyone who thought proper to come forward and accuse him. Aesch. 3. 23 οὐκοῦν ἐχρῆν σε...ἐᾶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; The expression amounts therefore to no more than the τὸν μὲν ἀνῆρηκε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλθόντων of § 2.

διὰ τί;] 'to what end?' 'with what consequences to himself?' So 3. 3 διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα: Thuc. 2. 89 ἡγούμενοι τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν: 4. 102 διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν 'with the object of...;' 6. 9.

ἵνα...τύχῃ] 'may now meet with.' Cf. on § 1.

ἐφ οἷς] i. e. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅ.

γρ. ἀποίσειν] 'that he would give in' to the proper authorities, 'lodge indictments.' This refers to the occasion mentioned in § 209. The full expression occurs in Ps. D. 26. 8 ὅταν τις ψηφίσματος ἢ νόμου γραφὴν ἀπενέγκῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας.

ἵνα τί;] sc. γένηται: Andoc. 3. 26 ἵνα ἡμῖν τί γένηται; Arist. *Nub.* 1192 ἵνα δὴ τί...προσέθηκε; *Pax* 409 ἵνα τί δὲ τοῦτο δρᾶτον; Cf. Lob. *Aj.* 77: Madv. *De Fin.* 2. § 61. Tr. 'For what purpose? That I who am most thoroughly acquainted with his villainies and have closely watched them all, may meet with the utmost possible indulgence from you in accusing him.' 23. 187 παρηκολουθηκὼς ἐνίοις τῶν ἀδικημάτων; 48. 40 τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχει καὶ παρηκολουθηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς: 18. 172. The tiro should observe that in such expressions as ὡς μετὰ πλείστης, ὡς regularly precedes the preposition. 18. 246 ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι; 18. 288 ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ: Thuc. 3. 46 ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ.

§ 258. **διακρουόμενος**] Cf. § 33. Bekk. st. injudiciously puts a comma after χρόνον; εἰσελθεῖν depends on

τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον ὑπῆκται καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἐπιόντων ἕνεκα, εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, οὐχ οἷόν τε οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν δεδωροδοκηκότα τοῦτον ἀθῷον ἐᾶσαι· ἀεὶ μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσήκει μισεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς 424
προδότας καὶ δωροδόκους, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῦτο
259 γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ὠφελήσειεν ἀνθρώπους κοινῇ. νόσημα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεινὸν ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ πολλῆς τινὸς εὐτυχίας καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιμελείας δεόμενον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γνωριμώτατοι καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιούμενοι, τὴν αὑτῶν προδιδόντες ἐλευθερίαν οἱ δυστυχεῖς, αὐθαίρετον αὑτοῖς ἐπάγονται δουλείαν, Φιλίππῳ ξενίαν καὶ ἑταιρίαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑποκοριζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ τὰ κύρι' ἄττα

διακρουόμενος, and the emphasis falls on **τοιοῦτοι**. Tr. 'But also by pushing off his trial during all the previous time, he has been led on to a time of crisis in which out of a regard for what is coming upon us, if for nothing else...'

ὑπῆκται] 'has let himself be led on:' 18. 158 **εἰς ἔχθραν...τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων**: 9. 1: 21. 66 **ταῦτα φιλονεικίᾳ...ὑπαχθέντα...ποιεῖν**. Sh. who tr. 'has been brought into court' (see his learned note) has, I venture to think, missed the point of the passage, which is, that Ae. who thought he was gaining an advantage by pushing off enquiry into his conduct, had only by his cleverness deferred his trial to a time when the disastrous results of his and similar misconduct were so patent that his acquittal was impossible. Cf. 6. 33 sq.

πάντας ἀνθρώπους] defined by the next sentence. Cf. 1. 19 **τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων νοῖε.**

§ 259. **εὐτυχίας**] 'good fortune and carefulness on your part')(**οἱ δυστυχεῖς**: infr. 265 **μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ δυστυχίαν**. Comp. the famous passages 18. 45 and 61.

οἱ γνωριμώτατοι] These are the persons characterised in § 295: Ps. D. 10. 4 **οἱ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες**: 18. 45 **αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν, τῶν ... ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι**, such as Perilaus in Megara, Euthycrates and Leosthenes in Olynthus, and those enumerated in the list of traitors 18, 295: and generally, those who in the various cities had been raised to political importance by high birth, wealth, or oratorical ability. Cf. 8, 66: 32. 31 **τῷ ῥήτορα καὶ γνώριμον εἶναι**, said of Demosthenes. Tr. 'the most notable persons in the several cities, entrusted with the conduct of state affairs.'

ὑποκοριζόμενοι] Cf. the illustrations in L. and S., and Theoph. *Ch.* 11 **τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίτθης ἀφελόμενος ...ὑποκορίζεσθαι ποππύζων καὶ πανούργιον τοῦ πάππου καλῶν**, 'he will take his child from the nurse...and chirp endearments to it, calling it 'papa's little rascal.' (Jebb.) Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 2. 15 **ἔστι δ' ὁ ὑποκορισμός, ὃς ἔλαττον ποιεῖ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσίου χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ λοιδορίας λοιδορημάτιον, καὶ ἀντὶ νοσήματος νοσημάτιον**. From the use of diminutives to lower with an expression of disparagement or contempt, we must explain the pas-

ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων, οὓς ἔδει τούτους κολάζειν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀποκτιννύναι, τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖν ὥστε θαυμάζουσι καὶ ζηλοῦσι καὶ βούλοιντ' ἂν
260 αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τοιοῦτος εἶναι. καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλώματα Θετταλῶν μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐχθὲς ἢ πρῴην τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀξίωμα ἀπολωλέκει, νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παραιρεῖται (τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν), εἰς Πελοπόννησον δ' εἰσελθὸν τὰς ἐν Ἠλιδι σφαγὰς πεποίηκε, καὶ τοσαύτης παρανοίας καὶ μανίας ἐνέπλησε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἐκείνους ὥσθ', ἵν' ἀλλήλων ἄρχωσι καὶ

sages where the verb or noun is used in the sense of 'to call by a depreciatory name,' 'nickname.' Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 26 *οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι...καλοῦσί με Εὐδαιμονίαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνομάζουσί με Κακίαν.* Alexis (ap. Athen. 10. p. 421) *καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ νεώτεροι παράσιτον ὑποκόρισμα.* Tr. 'glossing it over with the flattering titles of connection and companionship and friendship with Philip and the like.'

κύρια] 'But the rest (the *τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν* of 18. 45: infr. 265) and the governing bodies, whatever they are, in the several states.' Arist. *Rhet.* 1. c. 8 *κυρία μέν ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόφασις· τὰ δὲ κύρια διῄρηται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας· ὅσαι γαρ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ κύριά ἐστιν. Polit.* 3. ch. 8: Dem. 20. 107 *ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ* (at Sparta) *ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλον τῆς πολιτείας κυρίῳ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν ταύτης ...ὁ δῆμος κύριος.*

ἀπέχουσι τοῦ...ποιεῖν] instead of the more usual *τοῦ...μὴ ποιεῖν*; Madv. 220. Cf. supr. 212 *note.* In illustration of what is said here cf. 9. 56, 59 sq.: infr. 265.

ζηλοῦσι] Cf. 9. 39 *ἀντεισῆκται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων δι' ὧν* (principles by which) *ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι; γέλως ἂν ὁμολογῇ; μῖσος ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ; τἆλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται.*

§ 260. **καίτοι τοῦτο**] 'Yet this state of things and rivalries of this kind had till the other day destroyed the hegemony and national dignity of the Th., and is now going on (cf. § 288) to rob them of their liberty as well.' By *ἡγεμονίαν* is meant the *imperium* they had exercised over the Perrhaebi, Magnetes, Malians, and Dolopians, who though they still retained their Amphictyonic rights were subject to the Thessalians. Their *κοινὸν ἀξίωμα* they lost by being deprived of their hegemony and degraded, *παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν* as he says in 2. 8, to the position of Philip's vassals. Cf. 18. 65 *ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα* (9. 43 *note*), *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ὅσων ἐδύνατο.* For the state of Thessaly at this time see Ps. D. 7. 32 *Φεραίων μὲν ἀφῄρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν*: 6. 22: 9. 12 and 26 *οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ* ('nay' by putting garrisons in them) *τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησε παρ' αὐτοῖς*, and ib. 33. Grote 11. 613: Thirl. 6. 12. For the rhetorical value of the *παράδειγμα* (*exemplum*) cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 2. c. 20, and Cornific. *ad Herenn.* 4. 49. 62.

ἐν Ἠλιδι] Grote, l.c.: Thirl. 6. 17.

πεποίηκε...ἐνέπλησε] Cf. § 206: for the conj. *ἄρχωσι* see § 1.

Φιλίππῳ χαρίζωνται, συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πολίτας μιαι-
261 φονεῖν. καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἕστηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν εἰσελθὸν
πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω τἀκεῖ πεποίηκε, καὶ νῦν Ἀρκάδων
πολλοὶ προσῆκον αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ μέγιστον φρονεῖν
ὁμοίως ὑμῖν (μόνοι γὰρ πάντων αὐτόχθονες ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ
κἀκεῖνοι) Φίλιππον θαυμάζουσι καὶ χαλκοῦν ἱστᾶσι καὶ 425
στεφανοῦσι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἂν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἴῃ,
262 δέχεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσίν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι. ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Ἀργεῖοι. ταῦτα νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, εὐλα-
βείας οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖται, ὡς βαδίζον γε κύκλῳ καὶ δεῦρ' ἐλή-
λυθεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο. ἕως οὖν ἔτ' ἐν
ἀσφαλεῖ, φυλάξασθε καὶ τοὺς πρώτους εἰσαγαγόντας ἀτι-
μώσατε· εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖθ' ὅπως μὴ τηνικαῦτα εὖ λέγεσθαι

§ 261. **ἕστηκεν**] sc. τὸ νόσημα; 'it does not stop.'

ἄνω καὶ κάτω] 9. 36 *note*.

προσῆκον] Madv. 182. Herod. 8. 73 associates the Kynurians with the Arcadians in this honour, which was one of the special boasts of Athens. Cf. Pl. *Menex.* 237 B: Thuc. 2. 36: Herod. 7. 161: Isocr. 4. 24: 12. 124: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 83: Eur. *Ion* 669: Hyper. *Fun. Or.* col. 5: Ps. Lys. 2. 17 αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτητο καὶ μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1. 5. 5. Thuc. 1. 2 assigns reasons why Attica was not subject to the same changes of population as the rest of Hellas.

θαυμάζουσι] 'honour,' 'look up to him with reverence.' 20. 109 τοὺς...ἑαυτοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας μήτε τιμῶντες μήτε θαυμάζοντες: Eur. *Med.* 1113 δέσποινα δ' ἣν νῦν ἀντὶ σοῦ θαυμάζομεν. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 11 δείξομεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν 'without paying court to them.' So 'mirari' in Latin. Hor. 4. *Carm.* 14. 42.

χαλκοῦν ἱστᾶσι] At Athens one of the highest honours a man could receive; 20. 70, 120: infr. 330.

ταῖς πόλεσιν] 'should he visit the P. to receive him into their cities.' 20. 52 μὴ δέχεσθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς στρατιώτας; Aesch. 3. 156 ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει: Xen. *An.* 7. 2. 6 ἀναγκάζων οἰκίᾳ δέχεσθαι. That the dative in this expression is ablative, or instrumental, is clear from such a passage as Thuc. 6. 44 τῶν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾷ οὐδὲ ἄστει, ὕδατι δὲ καὶ ὅρμῳ. Cf. Livy 26. 25 'eum si quis urbe tecto mensâ lare reciperet.'

§ 262. Vöm. and Dind. read τ. δὲ ταὐτά εἰσιν Ἀργεῖοι with S, L and Υ. The passages quoted by Vöm. are utterly irrelevant. In Dem. ταὐτὰ ταῦτα would certainly be an apposition. Cf. 21. 33 καὶ πάλιν γε τὸν ἄρχοντα, ταὐτὸ τοῦτο: ib. 39 ταὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἰδίᾳ διαλυσάμενος; and supr. 190 καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα. Cf. § 2 πολὺ τἀναντία τούτων: 21. 40 πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον ἐκείνοις. Tr. 'and the Argives have done the same.'

εἰ δεῖ] 'if one must speak seriously:' 2. 28: 21. 111, and so regularly, not χρή.

βαδίζον] Cf. 9. 29.

ἕως οὖν] 6. 35 ἕως ... ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα (while the storm is yet to come and is gathering) καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων.

εἰ δὲ μή] 'or else, see that what I have now said does not seem to have been wisely spoken when the time

263 δόξει τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, ὅτε οὐδ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἔξετε. οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὡς ἐναργές, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σαφὲς παράδειγμα οἱ ταλαίπωροι γεγόνασιν Ὀλύνθιοι; οἳ παρ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἀπολώλασιν, οἱ δείλαιοι. ἔχοιτε δ' ἂν ἐξετάσαι καθαρῶς ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἡνίκα μὲν τετρακοσίους ἱππέας ἐκέκτηντο μόνον καὶ σύμπαντες οὐδὲν ἦσαν πλείους πεντακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὔπω Χαλκιδέων πάντων εἰς ἓν συνῳκισμένων, Λακεδαι-
264 μονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων πολλῇ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἦρχον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους), ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικαύτης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθούσης δυνάμεως οὔτε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε φρούριον οὐδὲν ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχας πολλὰς ἐκράτησαν καὶ τρεῖς τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὅπως ἐβούλοντο, οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον
265 κατέθεντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρξαντό τινες, καὶ δι' ἀβελτερίαν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ δυστυχίαν, τούτους πιστοτέρους ἡγήσαντο τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων, καὶ Λασθένης μὲν ἤρεψε τὴν οἰκίαν τοῖς ἐκ Μακεδονίας δοθεῖσι 426

comes that you don't even know what to do.' Cf. 6. 33 sq.; 9. 69.

§ 263. **παρ' οὐδέν**] 'all along of,' 'through nothing:' supr. § 42. *παρά* might be supplied with *τὸ ποιεῖν*, but cf. 9. 2 *note*.

καθαρῶς] 'you may discover it clearly,' supr. § 135.

ἐκεῖνοι γάρ] See *n.* to 2. 1.

εἰς ἓν σ.] 'united in one city,' as was done in Attica by Theseus (Thuc. 2. 13) and attempted by the Mitylenaeans in Lesbos (Thuc. 3. 2). The result was that Olynthus became the one πόλις and seat of government, in which the corporate existence of the other towns was merged (Thuc. 2. l. c.). The foundation of the power of Olynthus was laid just before the Pelop. war when the Chalcidians on the coast acted on the advice of Perdiccas, *τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὄλυνθον, μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι.* Thuc. 1. 58.

§ 264. **γῆς καὶ θ.**] Cf. 9. 47 where the Spartans are said to have been masters *καὶ θ. καὶ γῆς ἁπάσης*, which in Xen. *An.* 6. 6. 9 is expressed by *ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*: Dem. 15. 22; 18. 95.

μάχας...ἐκράτησαν] Madv. 26 b.: 'but even won many battles...and at last put an end to the war on their own terms.' The account here given is purely rhetorical. Their war with Sparta began in B.C. 383, and ended B.C. 379 with the reduction of the city and the enrolment of Olynthus with the other towns of the confederacy as allies of Sparta. Grote, 10. p. 92.

§ 265. **ἐπειδὴ δέ**] The orator here goes over the same ground as in 9. 56.

ἡγήσαντο] = *ἤρξαντο ἡγεῖσθαι*: supr. 197 *note*.

τοῖς ..ξύλοις] supr. 114, 145.

ξύλοις, Εὐθυκράτης δὲ βοῦς ἔτρεφε πολλὰς τιμὴν οὐδενὶ δούς, ἕτερος δέ τις ἧκεν ἔχων πρόβατα, ἄλλος δέ τις ἵππους, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ καθ' ὧν ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο οὐχ ὅπως ὠργίζοντο ἢ κολάζειν ἠξίουν τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπέβλεπον
266 ἐζήλουν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἡγοῦντο,—ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω προήγετο καὶ τὸ δωροδοκεῖν ἐκράτησε, χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας κεκτημένοι, πλείους δ' ὄντες ἢ μύριοι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιχώρους ἔχοντες συμμάχους, μυρίοις δὲ ξένοις καὶ τριήρεσι πεντήκοντα ὑμῶν βοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι τῶν πολιτῶν τετρακισχιλίοις, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τούτων ἠδυνήθη σῶσαι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν ἐξελθεῖν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ πολέμου τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἀπολωλέκεσαν τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ οἱ προδιδόντες, καὶ

οἱ δὲ πολλοί] 'And the people at large against whom all this was going on, so far from being angry and calling for the chastisement of the guilty parties, regarded them with admiration and envy, honoured and thought them men:' supr. 231 *νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦντο.*

ἄνδρας] Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 24 *ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Δυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο*; *Hiero* c. 7. § 3 *ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι ὀνομαζόμενοι*: Arist. *Eq.* 179 *καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ ἀλλαντοπώλης ὢν ἀνὴρ γενήσομαι*; The verbs fall into two pairs as in the exx. quoted on § 208.

§ 266. **ἐπειδὴ δέ** takes up the *ἐπειδὴ δέ* with which the sentence begins. Bekk. st., Vöm. and Dind. omit *δέ* with S, L, Υ, F. I agree with Sh. in thinking that it is necessary. Cf. 3. 27 *note.* In 18. 261 *ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν ἐνεγράφης* ... Vöm. follows S in reading *ἐπειδήγ' ἐνεγράφης* which would belong to *ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο*, 'by what means I will not stop to enquire since you *were* enrolled,' which is clearly contrary to the sense of the passage. Tr. 'when, I say, things were brought to such a pass and venality gained the upper hand.'

μυρίοις δὲ ξένοις] Cf. Grote 11. 487 sq. The strength of Olynthus is probably exaggerated by the Orator. See *n.* to 2. 1. The construction is not continued in reference to *κεκτημένοι*, which thus appears as a *nom. pendens*, as infr. 291 *δεδιξάμενος*; Eur. *Phoen.* 283 *μέλλων δὲ πέμπειν μ' Οἰδίπου κλεινὸν γένος μαντεῖα σεμνὰ...ἐν τῷδ' ἐπεστράτευσαν*: Dem. 41. 5 *ὅτι τὴν προῖκα οὐ κομισάμενος ἅπασαν...πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν μοι τὸ συμβόλαιον.* Cf. Monk on Eur. *Hipp.* 23.

τὰς πόλεις] 9. 26 *καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐῶ, ἃς ἁπάσας οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ᾠκήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν.* Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 4. 101) tells us that they were so completely destroyed *ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁρᾶσθαι.* Grote 11. 488.

Vöm. with S (and so Dind.) omits **οἱ** before **προδιδόντες** as 'infinite dictum, *verräther* non *die verräther.*' But if the article is omitted we should naturally make the Olynthians at large the subject, and tr. 'they had lost...by betraying them to the enemy.' Vöm.'s argument that if *οἱ* is retained Lasthenes and Euthycrates alone would be meant, is entirely wrong. He is talking of the Chalcidic towns, and a number of traitors is spoken of above, besides these two, *ἕτερος δέ τις, ἄλλος δέ τις.*

οἱ προ.] 'the traitors.' For the pres. part. cf. § 7 *note.* Thuc. 2. 5:

Φίλιππος οὐκέτ' εἶχεν ὑπακούειν τοῖς προδιδοῦσιν, οὐδ' εἶχεν
267 ὅ τι πρῶτον λάβῃ. πεντακοσίους δ' ἱππέας προδοθέντας
ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἡγουμένων ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ Φίλιππος,
ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οὔτε τὸν ἥλιον
ᾐσχύνοντο οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες οὔτε τὴν γῆν πατρίδα οὖσαν,
ἐφ' ἧς ἔστασαν, οὔτε ἱερὰ οὔτε τάφους οὔτε τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα
γενησομένην αἰσχύνην ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἔργοις· οὕτως ἔκφρονας,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ παραπλῆγας τὸ δωροδοκεῖν ποιεῖ.
ὑμᾶς οὖν, ὑμᾶς εὖ φρονεῖν δεῖ τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ κολάζειν δημοσίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπερφυὲς εἴη εἰ κατὰ μὲν τῶν Ὀλυνθίους προδόντων

Thuc. 3. 4 οἱ διαβάλλοντες: 2. 2 τοῖς ἐπαγομένοις.

οὐκέτ' εἶχεν ὑ.] vulg., Dind., Sh.: ὑπεῖχεν ἐπακούων pr. S, L, Bekk. st., Vöm. Vöm. explains his reading thus; 'P. non tolerabat molestos proditores, ad fastidium omnia offerentes, auscultare;' but this is inconsistent with what follows and the whole scope of the passage. If his reading were adopted we might compare Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 5. 43 ἕωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀκούειν τῶν προσιόντων οὐκ ἐλήξαμεν πρόσθεν ἑσπέρας, καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶτε τούτους...εἰ οὖν τις τούτοις ὑφέξει ἑαυτόν, &c. and tr. 'P. could not put himself at the disposal of the traitors in hearkening to their calls:' and with ὑπεῖχεν...εἶχεν we might compare 9. 1 ἔσται...ἔξεσται: 18. 239 ἐνεδέχετο...δέχεσθαι: ib. 158 φεύγει...καταφεύγει. But I follow Sh., as the οὐχ ὑπεῖχεν of S and L seems to be only a perversion of οὐκέτ' εἶχεν.

λάβῃ] from the *or. recta* τί πρῶτον λάβω: 'and was at a loss what to take possession of first.'

§ 267. **ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἡ.**] Lasthenes and Euthycrates: 9. 56. Thirl. 5. 316.

τὸν ἥλιον] Comp. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 8, where he asks what punishment is severe enough for one who μὴ βοηθήσαντα...τοῖς πατρῴοις ἱεροῖς, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τὰς τῶν προγόνων θήκας, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑποχείριον τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδόντα, and ib. 17. In the exhortations with which the Greeks animated each other at the battle of Salamis, the θῆκαι προγόνων are named with wives, children, and the temples of the gods, as cherished objects to be fought for, that they might not lose in the possession of the enemy the honour due to them. One of the main objects of adoption was that the departed might have due honour (Isae. 2. 10 ἐσκόπει ὁ Μενεκλῆς ὅπως μὴ ἔσοιτο ἄπαις, ἀλλ' ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅστις ζῶντα γηροτροφήσοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι), and neglect of this duty was considered an act of great impiety, sufficient to exclude a man from office if proved against him at his δοκιμασία. Xen. *Mem.* 2. 2. 13. Cf. Becker's *Charicles*, p. 205.

ἐπὶ...ἔργοις] 1. 11 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν; supr. § 23: 'nor the disgrace that was certain to follow upon such doings.'

καί before ὑπερφυές is intensive: 'for it would be indeed monstrous, if after passing many severe resolutions against the O. traitors, you should be found letting off unpunished criminals among yourselves!' In 8. 40 Dem. points to the fate that had befallen Lasthenes and Euthycrates as a proof that Philip cast off those who thought they had laid him under lasting obligations, when

πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοὺς δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦντας μὴ κολάζοντες φαίνοισθε. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι τὸ περὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων.

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268 Ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις δοκεῖτε ἐψηφίσθαι κατ' ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ δωροδοκεῖν πρότερον τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο καὶ τάδε πράττουσί τινες, ὃν ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δωροδοκοῦντα ἴδητε, τοῦτον καὶ προδότην εἶναι νομίζετε. εἰ δ' ὃ μὲν καιροὺς ὃ δὲ πράγματα ὃ δὲ στρατιώτας προδίδωσιν, ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος οἶμαι κύριος γένηται, ταῦτα διαφθείρει· μισεῖν
269 δ' ὁμοίως τοὺς τοιούτους πάντας προσήκει. ἔστι δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων μόνοις τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους, οὓς

they had served his purpose; σκεψάσθωσαν Εὐθυκράτην καὶ Λασθένην οἱ δοκοῦντες οἰκειότατ' αὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν προύδοσαν, πάντων κάκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν, the sense of which is fixed by 18. 48: cf. supr. 107. When Demades proposed that Euthycrates should be made a proxenus of Athens, Hyperides tells us he moved a psephism setting forth, ironically, his claims to such honour. Cf. *n.* to 9. 66 where the passage is quoted.

For the form in which the rhetorical syllogism is presented, see § 132.

§§ 268—287. *You gained universal applause by your decrees condemning the traitors of Olynthus. Carry out the principle on which you then acted by punishing every one, that takes bribes from your enemies, as a traitor. And to guide you, you have the example of your fathers who in ancient and more recent times visited even eminent citizens, who had deserved much better of their country than Ae. can pretend to have done, with condign punishment for having received bribes from foreign powers.*

Ἕ. καὶ βαρβάροις] supr. § 244.

ἐψηφίσθαι] In middle sense. Cf. Veitch, p. 613.

καὶ τάδε] 'and it is just on that account (i.e. τὸ δωροδοκεῖν) that people commit the acts.' After ἕκαστος Bekk. st. and Dind. insert ὑμῶν from S, L, &c., which does not seem capable of any satisfactory interpretation. It would be harsh in the extreme to suppose that Dem. turned and addressed himself directly to Ae. and his colleagues, as the sentence is clearly general; and there is no point in ὑμῶν addressed to the Jurors. Vöm. who has ὑμῶν in the text, conjectures παρ' ὑμῶν, 'quodcunque singulus a vobis mandatum sibi habet:' but παρ' ὑμῶν would rather go with ἕκαστος (cf. 4. 27). I follow Sh. in omitting the word altogether: 'If one betrays opportunities, another interests, another troops, each, I take it, ruins that of which he has the control.'

In the next words **πάντας** belongs to τοὺς τοιούτους, 'in all cases,' 'all such persons ought equally to be detested by all:' 8. 76.

§ 269. **οἰκείοις...π.**] Comp. the language in 3. 23 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις

ἐπαινεῖτε δικαίως, ἔργῳ μιμεῖσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὰς μάχας μηδὲ τὰς στρατείας μηδὲ τοὺς κινδύνους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι λαμπροί, συμβαίνει καιρός, ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἡσυχίαν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλὰ τό γ' εὖ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν μιμεῖσθε.
270 τούτου γὰρ πανταχοῦ χρεία, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι πραγματωδέστερον οὐδ' ὀχληρότερον τὸ καλῶς φρονεῖν τοῦ κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ χρόνῳ νυνὶ καθήμενος ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, ἂν μὲν ἃ χρὴ γιγνώσκῃ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ψηφίζηται, βελτίω τὰ κοινὰ ποιήσει τῇ πόλει καὶ ἄξια τῶν προγόνων πράξει, ἂν δ' ἃ μὴ δεῖ, φαυλότερα καὶ ἀνάξια τῶν προγόνων ποιήσει. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι περὶ τούτων ἐφρόνουν; τουτὶ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι, γραμματεῦ· δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ῥαθυμεῖτε ὧν θάνατον κατεγνώκασιν οἱ πρόγονοι. λέγε.

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271 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν γραμμάτων λεγόντων Ἄρθμιον τὸν Πυθώνακτος τὸν Ζελείτην ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ πολέμιον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος πᾶν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν

ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκείοις...εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι.

εἰ μή] sc. μιμεῖσθαι.—Bekk. st. and Vöm. omit καὶ γάρ with S, F, Υ, Φ: Sh. and Dind. retain it with Lγρ, S, Ω. It seems to me to be absolutely required by the sense. [I say imitate them in action]; for 'though an opportunity does not occur for imitating the battles or the expeditions or the perilous adventures by which they distinguished themselves, as you are just now at peace, at least imitate their practical wisdom.' And you might as well do so, as it is not a whit more troublesome or irksome to do so than to judge foolishly, and you will not sit any longer in the one case than the other.

§ 270. γραμματεῦ] As a rule official persons are not mentioned by name; but as here 42. 29: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* §§ 36, 77: Aesch. 3. 124, 190 ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεύς.

ἐπὶ ... ῥαθυμεῖτε] So very often with verbs expressing some state or affection of the mind: γελᾶν, ἀλγεῖν, ἀγανακτεῖν &c. ἐπί, 'at' or 'for' a thing; here 'you regard with indifference acts which your ancestors punished with death.' Cf. Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 2. § 48.

§ 271. Ἄρθμιον] Cf. 9. 42 where the case is again argued at length. ἐχθρὸν...καὶ π.)(σύμμαχον καὶ φίλον in 143. In 9. 42 we have ἄτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου, &c.

αὐτόν] 'declaring A. to be an enemy and a foe...himself and his family:' in which way αὐτός is regularly used in opposition to some person or thing to be distinguished from the object designated by αὐτός, as a man in opposition to his family or property. Cf. 71 and 281. This was done according to Plutarch (*vit. Them.* c. 6) at the instance of Themistocles.

τὸν χρ. τὸν ἐκ] Bekk. st. and

βαρβάρων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤγαγεν. οὐκοῦν ἔστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ τούτων ἰδεῖν ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν ὑμῶν, ὅπως μηδ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων μηδεὶς ἐπὶ χρήμασι μηδὲν ἐργάσεται κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐφρόντιζον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
272 ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀδικήσει προορᾶσθε. νὴ Δί' ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔτυχε ταῦτα τὰ γράμμαθ' ἕστηκεν. ἀλλ' ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησὶ καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης παρὰ τὴν χαλκῆν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἕστηκεν, ἣν ἀριστεῖον ἡ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ', ἀνέθηκεν. τότε μὲν τοίνυν οὕτω σεμνὸν ἦν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ἔντιμον, ὥστε τῆς αὐτῆς ἠξιοῦτο στάσεως τό τε ἀριστεῖον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ αἱ κατὰ τῶν

Vöm. omit the second article with S, F, Υ, Ω. But the same MSS. have in 9. 42 τὸν χρ. τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν. Deinarchus, speaking long afterwards, could say ὅτε φασὶν Ἄρθμιον τὸν Π. τὸν Ζ. κομίσαι τὸ χρυσίον (*notum illud aurum*) ἐκ Μήδων ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (2. 24), but the *inscription*, as Sh. justly remarks, could only say τὸν χρ. τὸν ἐκ β., as here, or τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσόν as Dein. ib. 25: Aesch. 3. 258. Dein. 2. 25 affirms that this was the only case in which the reason for the sentence of outlawry was assigned.

μηδ' ἄλλος] 'that no one else even (i.e. besides their own citizens: cf. § 307 ἄλλον τινά) should for money work any harm to Hellas, but you take no precautions to prevent...' 9. 45 οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.

ὅπως...ἐργάσεται] Madv. 123 with the r.

§ 272. **νὴ Δί' ἀλλ'**] Cf. on § 158. 'Oh! but this inscription (i.e. the στήλη: cf. 20. 64 and 69) stands anywhere' (in a corner out of sight, without importance being attached to it)! 'On the contrary, though the whole A. is sacred and of considerable area it stands on the right by the colossal brazen statue of A. which the city erected as a prize memorial.' ἀριστεῖον occurs in the sing. also in 24. 180 οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀριστεῖον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνέθεσαν; Isocr. 16. 31.

ὅπως ἔτυχε] Xen. *Oecon.* 3. 3 καὶ οὐδ' ἐν χώρᾳ γ' ἐν ᾗ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἔνθα προσήκει: ib. 20. 28 οὐκ εἰκῇ αὐτὰν ὅπου ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπέβαλον. On the repetition of the article see § 26: Thuc. 1. 108 τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρά.

This was the famous statue of Athene Promachus, the work of Phidias. 'It is 70 feet in height, and looks towards the west upon the Areopagus, the Agora, and the Pnyx, and far away over the Aegean sea. It is armed with a long spear and oval shield and bears a helmet on its head; the point of the lance and the crest of the casque appearing above the loftiest building of the Acropolis, are visible to the sailor approaching Athens from Sunium.' Wordsworth, *Greece*, p. 202.

αἱ...τιμωρίαι] i.e. the στήλη bearing 'the record,' 'the record of the punishment inflicted on those guilty of such crimes:' cf. γράμματα above and 9. 41. Comp. Lyc. *c. Leocr.*

τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀδικούντων τιμωρίαι· νῦν δὲ γέλως, ἄδεια, αἰσχύνη,
273 εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην ἐξουσίαν σχήσετε νῦν ὑμεῖς. νομίζω τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐ καθ' ἕν τι μόνον τοὺς προγόνους μιμουμένους ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐφεξῆς. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, ὡς ἅπαντες εὖ

§ 117 and the argument that follows.

γέλως] sc. *ἐστί*: 'now all is mockery, impunity, disgrace (i.e. to Athens) unless you check this extravagant licence to-day.' Bekk. st. and Vöm. without reason omit *αἰσχύνη* with S. It corresponds to *ἔντιμον*. Instead of justice being revered, such crimes are only laughed at and envied (*ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι; γέλως ἂν ὁμολογῇ; μῖσος ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ* 9. 39); instead of being punished they meet with impunity, bringing disgrace on Athens in place of the high name she had (*ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς*...268) when it was thought an honourable thing to hate and punish such doings.

For **τὴν ἄγαν** comp. 4. 17 *τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας...στρατείας*: 6. 21 *αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὗται λίαν ὁμιλίαι.* Also 4. 17 *ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν.*

§ 273. **ἐφεξῆς**] 'in the whole tenour of their conduct.'

τοίνυν introduces an exposition of the previous statement as supr. § 10. Above, after *νομίζω*, it is used as a particle of inference. 'Well, they—I am sure you have all heard the story—after C. had negotiated that peace (cf. § 134) which is in the mouth of all (2. 6: supr. 156), that the king should not come within a day's ride of the coast nor sail with a ship of war within (i.e. west of) the Chelidonian islands and Cyanean rocks, because it was found that he had taken bribes on his embassy (as Timagoras §§ 31, 137, 191) were near putting him to death.' The peace of Cimon, as it is usually called, is frequently mentioned without question as one of the *αὐχήματα* of Athens. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 73 *συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο μακρῷ μὲν πλοίῳ μὴ πλεῖν ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Φασηλίδος, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι*: Isocr. 4. 120: 12. 59 sq.: Dem. 15. 29 *εἰσὶ συνθῆκαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι δίτταὶ πρὸς βασιλέα, ἃς ἐποιήσατο ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἃς ἅπαντες ἐγκωμάζουσι* (the peace of Cimon), *καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτας ὧν δὴ κατηγοροῦσιν* (the peace of Antalcidas). Isocrates (4. 118 and 7. 80), as Callisthenes below, makes this withdrawal of Persia from Greek waters the results of the crushing defeats she had sustained. The peace is said to have been negotiated after the battles at the Eurymedon B.C. 466. But Callisthenes, the son of Aristotle's cousin Hero and a contemporary of Demosthenes, called it in question, as Plutarch tells us in his life of Cimon, *καίτοι Καλλισθένης οὔ φησι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔργῳ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς ἥττης ἐκείνης καὶ μακρὰν οὕτως ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 'that Pericles with 50 ships and Ephialtes with 30 sailed beyond the Chelidonian islands without encountering opposition,' *ἐν δέ*, he continues, *τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ἃ συνήγαγε Κράτερος, ἀντίγραφα συνθηκῶν ὡς γενομένων ἀντικατατέτακται.* Theopompus, also a contemporary, who seems to have been a severe critic of Athenian pretensions in general, pronounces the convention to be a forgery, adding *ὅσα ἄλλα ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (ap. Theon, in Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* 2. p. 67), and Harpocration (p. 39 Bekker) refers to him as saying *ἐσκευωρῆσθαι...τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνθήκας, ἃς οὐ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν Ἰώνων*, and therefore not more ancient than the Archonship of Eucleides B.C. 403. Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 3. The subject is discussed by Thirl. 3. 37 and Grote

οἶδ' ὅτι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀκηκόατε, Καλλίαν τὸν Ἱππονίκου ταύτην τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων θρυλουμένην εἰρήνην πρεσβεύσαντα, ἵππου μὲν δρόμον ἡμέρας πεζῇ μὴ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν βασιλέα, ἐντὸς δὲ Χελιδονίων καὶ Κυανέων πλοίῳ 42) μακρῷ μὴ πλεῖν, ὅτι δῶρα λαβεῖν ἔδοξε πρεσβεύσας, μικροῦ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐθύναις πεντήκοντα ἐπράξαντο
274 τάλαντα. καίτοι καλλίω ταύτης εἰρήνην οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πεποιημένην τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐσκόπουν. τούτου μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν αἰτίαν εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ προῖκα ἢ μὴ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ· τοῦτον οὖν δίκαιον ἠξίουν παρέχεσθαι καὶ ἀδωροδόκητον τὸν προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς.
275 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοίνυν οὕτως ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦντο τὸ δωροδοκεῖν καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς τῇ πόλει ὥστε μήτ' ἐπὶ πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς μήτ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην ἑωρακότες τὰ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχη καθῃρηκυῖαν, τὰς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων οἰκίας οἰκοδομοῦσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως κτήματα ἀφῃρημένην, τούτοις δ' ἃ μηδ' ὄναρ ἤλπισαν πώποτε κτησαμένην, οὐκ

5. 455 sq. The latter thinks that, notwithstanding the silence of Thucydides, there are sufficient hints in him (Thuc. 8. 5, 6, 56) and Herodotus (8. 151) to justify the conclusion that it really existed. I entirely agree with the conclusion arrived at by Thirlwall and Dahlmann, that the idea of such a peace first arose in the schools of the Rhetors after the peace of Antalcidas, and was prompted by the wish to show that Athens had once concluded a peace far more honourable to Hellas, since she dictated terms to the Great King instead of receiving terms from him as Sparta had done. Cf. Dem. 15. 29 quoted above, and 23. 140 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἔγραψαν ἐξεῖναι δρᾶσαι πᾶν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ βασιλεύς...

§ 274. **τοῦ δέ...**] 'but the taking of bribes or not, depended on the character of the A.: they looked therefore that any one who undertook public duties (§ 2) should show an honest disposition inaccessible to bribes.'

§ 275. **ἀλυσιτελές**] a *litotes*. Cf. 1. 14: 9. 12 Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν.

ἐπί] 'on the occasion of,' 'in:' 2. 1: 21. 54 τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστης μαντείας προφαινομένοις θεοῖς: ib. 72 ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

οἰκοδομοῦσαν] This refers to what was said of Philocrates § 114: cf. also § 145 sq.: 'But you, men of A., though you have seen that the same peace (§ 146) has razed the walls of your allies and is building the houses of your ambassadors; that it has taken away (cf. 186) the possessions of the state (§ 146), and gained for these men what they never hoped even in their dreams...require an accuser and try with formal pleadings those whose crimes all actually behold' (§ 114).

ὄναρ] Comp. Ps. D. 13. 30 οἱ δὲ

αὐτοὶ τούτους ἀπεκτείνατε ἀλλὰ κατηγόρου προσδεῖσθε, καὶ λόγῳ κρίνετε ὧν ἔργῳ τἀδικήματα πάντες ὁρῶσιν.

276 Οὐ τοίνυν τὰ πάλαι ἄν τις ἔχοι μόνον εἰπεῖν, καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν παρακαλέσαι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὑμῶν τουτωνὶ τῶν ἔτι ζώντων ἀνθρώπων πολλοὶ δίκην δεδώκασιν, ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείψω, τῶν δ' ἐκ πρεσβείας, ἢ πολὺ ταύτης ἐλάττω κακὰ τὴν πόλιν εἴργασται, θανάτῳ ζημιωθέντων ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. καί μοι λέγε τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

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277 Κατὰ τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πρέ-

γῆν συνεωνημένοι γεωργοῦσιν ὅσην οὐδ' ὄναρ ἤλπισαν πώποτε.

§ 276. τὰ πάλαι] Bekk., Sh.; τὰ παλαί' Dind. after Cobet (*Var. Lect.* p. 384) who objects to τὰ πάλαι: 'nam dicitur οἱ πάλαι, sed τὰ πάλαι γενόμενα aut τὰ παλαιά,' e. g. 22. 15 καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ παλαιὰ λέγειν; Vöm. cites against him Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 916 and Dem. 20. 81 τὰς πάλαι χάριτας (so the best MSS.: Bekk. st. παλαιάς); and it is hard to see why τὰ πάλαι should not be said as well as οἱ πάλαι. Nor is there anything to object to in the hiatus πάλαι ἄν; cf. supr. 103; 18. 49.

διὰ τούτων] 'by such examples:' supr. § 14.

ἐπί] 'in the time of:' 3. 2.

τῶν ἔτι ζώντων ἀνθρώπων Cobet pronounces an 'absurdum additamentum.' It is difficult to imagine how the words could have got into the text if not genuine. But in truth the only answer criticism of this kind deserves is silence.

ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν] Cf. 18. 95: 20. 11: 23. 102: and so the orators *passim* promise brevity by way of conciliating attention, in public speeches especially, as διήγησις is strictly foreign to the proper work of deliberation. Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 16. 11 ἐν δὲ δημηγορίᾳ ἥκιστα διήγησίς ἐστιν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐδεὶς διηγεῖται. ἀλλ' ἔαν περ διήγησις ᾖ, τῶν γενομένων ἔσται, ἵνα ἀναμνησθέντες ἐκείνων βέλτιον βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἢ διαβάλλοντες ἢ ἐπαινοῦντες· ἀλλὰ τότε οὐ τὸ τοῦ συμβούλου ἔργον ποιεῖ.

§ 277. Epicrates is mentioned by Aristophanes (*Eccles.* 71) as distinguished for the amplitude of his beard, which got him the name of Σακεσφόρος. In Plat. *Phaedr.* init. Lysias is spoken of as staying παρ' Ἐπικράτει, ἐν τῇδε τῇ πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου οἰκίᾳ τῇ Μορυχίᾳ. Plato, the comic poet, made him and his fellow-ambassadors the subjects of a direct attack in his πρέσβεις (Mein. p. 378 *ed. min.*), κᾆτ' ἔλαβον Ἐπικράτης γε καὶ Φορμίσιος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πλεῖστα δωροδοκήματα. The 27th speech of Lysias has been supposed to refer to the matter here spoken of by Demosthenes. But in spite of the opening sentence, κατηγόρηται... Ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν, which seems to have been interpolated from the superscription, the general purport of the speech, which συμπωλητῶν would suit better, makes it tolerably certain that it has no reference to an embassy: cf. §§ 1, 2, 3, especially the words τίνα χρὴ ἐλπίδα ἔχειν σωτηρίας, ὁπόταν ἐν χρήμασιν ᾖ καὶ σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ μή, ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι, φύλακες ὑφ' ὑμῶν καταστάντες, οἱ τῶν ἀδικούντων κολασταί, κλέπτωσί τε καὶ καταδωροδοκῶσι,

σβεων ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς θάνατον κατέγνωτε, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἐπικράτης, ἀνήρ, ὡς ἐγὼ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούω, σπουδαῖος καὶ πολλὰ χρήσιμος τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἄλλως δημοτικός. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὠφέλησε τούτων, δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ χρηστὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν τηλικαῦτα διοικεῖν ἀξιοῦντα, οὐδὲ τὸ πιστευθῆναι προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ μείζω δύνασθαι κακουργεῖν καταχρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἑκόντα.
278 εἰ τοίνυν τι τούτοις ἄπρακτόν ἐστι τούτων ἐφ' οἷς ἐκείνων θάνατος κατέγνωσται, ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνατε ἤδη. σκοπεῖτε γάρ. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὰ γράμματα, φησίν, ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πρῶτον. οὗτοι δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὰ γράμματα; οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχοις, οὗτοι δὲ Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους ἀπέφηναν;

which clearly refer to corruption and peculation in some office at home. In support of this inference drawn from the speech itself, Blass (*Die Attische Beredtsamkeit* p. 445) urges that whereas Dem. says Epicrates and his colleagues were condemned to death by the people, in Lysias they are before a court. But this is inaccurate. Dem. says *ὑμεῖς*, i. e. the Heliasts condemned him on the matter being referred to them by the people, who determined by their decree when, by whom, and in what manner, &c. the criminal was to be tried. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s.v. *εἰσαγγελία*: Schöm. *Ass. of the Ath.* p. 203, *Engl. Tr.*; supr. 32: 51. 8 *τοὺς μεμισθωκότας τὰς τριηραρχίας...παρεδώκατε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καταχειροτονήσαντες προδεδωκέναι τὰς ναῦς.*

τῶν πρ. ἀκούω] Cf. *n.* to 3. 21: 4. 3: supr. 249.

τῶν ἐκ...] 'one of those who brought the people back from the P. and generally a friend to the popular cause.' *Οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς* and *οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ* are standing titles in Lysias and Xenophon of the popular party. Lys. 13. 88: 25. 2 and 9 *μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Π. συγκατῆλθον*: Dem. 24. 134 *καίτοι τῶν ἐκ Π. καὶ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἦν.* With this description of Epicrates comp. 24. 134 *Ἀγύρριον...ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ δημοτικὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον πολλὰ σπουδάσαντα.*

ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ] Supply, if anything, *μοίρᾳ*: but see the *n.* to 3. 2: 'honest by halves.'

For **τὸ πιστευθῆναι** cf. § 289 *τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπιστευμένων*: 23. 4 *τῶν πολιτευομένων καὶ πιστευομένων παρ' ὑμῶν.*

καταχρῆσθαι] 'nor having secured your confidence to take advantage of it to work greater mischiefs.' The verb is here used in a bad sense, 'use unscrupulously,' 'to misapply,' as in 23. 128.

§ 278. **ἤδη**] 'at once' 1. 2: 18. 10.

φησίν] 9. 42: Lys. 13. 50 *διαρρήδην λέγει, διότι, φησίν, ἔδοξα τἀληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι*: Dem. 23. 789 *πάντες...τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γεγράφασιν· ἔστω, φησίν*...i. e. the mover of each decree. Tr. 'since, the decree says, 'they acted on the embassy in violation of their instructions,' and this is the first of the charges against them (Epicrates and his colleagues). Did not this decree (which gave Ae. and his colleagues their instructions) say 'for the A. and the Athenian allies,' and did not these men declare the Ph. excluded from the treaty?'

οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὁρκοῦν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὗτοι δέ, οὓς Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, τούτους ὥρκισαν; οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα οὐδαμοῦ μόνους ἐντυγχάνειν Φιλίππῳ, οὗτοι δ' οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο ἰδίᾳ χρηματίζοντες;
279 καὶ ἠλέγχθησάν τινες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὐ τἀληθῆ ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὗτοι δέ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ; τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ λαμπρόν. ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων· οἷς γὰρ ἀπήγγειλαν οὗτοι, πάντα δήπου γέγονε τἀναντία. οὐδ' ἐπιστέλλοντες, φησί, τἀληθῆ. οὔκουν οὐδ' οὗτοι. καὶ 431
καταψευδόμενοι τῶν συμμάχων καὶ δῶρα λαμβάνοντες. ἀντὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ καταψευδόμενοι παντελῶς ἀπολωλεκότες· πολλῷ δὲ δήπου τοῦτο δεινότερον τοῦ καταψεύσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπέρ γε τοῦ δῶρα εἰληφέναι, εἰ μὲν ἠρνοῦντο, ἐξελέγχειν ἂν ἦν λοιπόν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ὡμολογοῦσιν, ἀπάγειν δήπου προσῆ-
280 κεν. τί οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καί τινες αὐτῶν ἔτι ζῶντες, ὑπομενεῖτε τὸν μὲν εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸν ἐκ Πει-

For **ὥρκισαν** H. Wolf conj. *ὤρκωσαν* on account of *ὁρκοῦν* just above. But the change is not more remarkable than in Pl. *Theaet.* 196 D (quoted by Sh.) *πρὶν ἐκτῆσθαι τοῦ κεκτῆσθαι ἕνεκα.* Cf. Lob. *Phryn.* p. 361.

οὓς Φ.] Cf. supr. 158.

§ 279. **χρηματίζοντες**] 'consulting privately,' 'having private consultations with.' In § 175 he asserts this of Aeschines only.

δέ γε] 'Yes, and these men in the assembly too,' an aggravation of their offence, carrying with it the evil consequences indicated in § 5.

τὸ λ.] 'the grand point.' Cf. § 120.

οὔκουν] 'And, it says, of not stating the truth in their despatches. No more did these men.' Cf. § 174.

ἀντί...] In the case of Aeschines instead of 'calumniating' say 'having utterly ruined:' for 'calumniating' substitute 'having utterly ruined.'

For **ὡμολογοῦσιν** Bekk. st. and Dind. injudiciously read *ὡμολόγουν*: and so also Vöm., who says 'verum est imperfectum; nam argumentatio fit ex factis, *ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων* § 119. Sequitur *προσῆκεν* in optimis libris.' But *προσῆκεν* admits of an easy explanation (Madv. 118: infr. 282: 20. 119), and *ὁμολογοῦσιν* is required by *ἠρνοῦντο* which comes down to and includes present time. 'Moreover in regard (§ 7) to their having taken bribes, if they persisted in denying it, it would have been necessary to prove the point, but since they admit it (do not and never have denied it: infr. 293) they surely should have been at once led off to punishment,' without waiting to go through that trial; which is only another way of stating what he had said in § 276. By an opposite error the MSS. have *ὁμολογεῖ* in speaking of Philocrates in § 119.

§ 280. After **ὑμεῖς** we may supply *οἱ μέν*: supr. 180 *note:* Andoc. 1. 38 *ἐστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν.*

The apodosis to **τὸν μὲν εὐεργέτην** follows in 281 *τὸν δὲ Ἀτρομήτου.*

τὸν...τόν] of the same person, as in the next sentence *τοῦ δημοτικοῦ*

ραιῶς, Ἐπικράτην, ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ κολασθῆναι, καὶ πάλιν πρῴην Θρασύβουλον ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντος τὸν δῆμον τάλαντα δέκα ὠφληκέναι, καὶ τὸν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ τῶν τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθὰ ὑμᾶς εἰργασμένων, οὓς νόμῳ, διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις

καὶ τοῦ...καταγαγόντος. Cf. § 87: 23. 150 *μισθοῖ...αὐτὸν Ὀλυνθίοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν Ἀμφίπολιν.* So the Latins sometimes repeat the preposition where the substantives &c. refer to the same person. Cic. *pr. R. Am.* § 102 'ad socium atque ad magistrum suum misit;' where the *socius* and *magister* is Capito. Dind. reads *καὶ τῶν ἐκ* Π. and infr. omits *καί* before *τοῦ ἀπὸ* Φ. without any authority.

ἐκπεσεῖν] The passive to *ἐκβάλλω*: 'should be disgraced,' 'degraded:' cf. § 337: 9. 56 *ὥστε τόν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος... ἐπείσθη*; 21. 87 *ἐκβάλλει καὶ ἀτιμοῖ τὸν διαιτήτην*: ib. 109 *ἐκβαλών τινα καὶ προπηλακίσας*: ib. 122. In 22. 1 *τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως ἐκπεσεῖν* the meaning is probably the same as here, not 'banished;' in that sense *ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος* would be added, as in 21. 115.

ἐκεῖνον implies that he was dead, and corresponds to the *anaphorical* use of *οὑτοσί* (§ 75) of the living; 'Th. the son of Th. the patriot who led the people back from Pylae.' Thirl. 4. 198: Grote 8. 360. Cf. infr. § 290.

τὸν ἀφ' Ἁ. καὶ τῶν] *τὸν Πρόξενον λέγει τὸν στρατηγόν· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν.* Schol. Cf. Dein. 1. 63 *ἐδέθη τῶν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου γεγονότων εἰς κατὰ τὸ σὸν πρόσταγμα.* There is some difficulty about the reading. Sh. retains the vulg. *τὸν ἀφ' Ἁ. καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος, καὶ τῶν...* And so Dind., except that he omits *καί* before *τῶν*, which however is in all the MSS., and obviously genuine. Bekk. st. and Vöm. omit *καὶ Ἁ.*, which certainly looks like a gloss. It seems very improbable that Dem. would venture to say of a definite person (Dein. l. c.), well known to his hearers, that he was the descendant of both H. and A., whose families were distinct though constantly associated. At the same time the association of the two in the special honours which he proceeds to mention allowed him to add *καὶ τῶν...εἰργασμένων.* Comp. Isae. 5. 47 *ἐβουλήθης μᾶλλον Δικαιογένους καλεῖσθαι υἱὸς ἢ Ἁρμοδίου, ὑπερεῖδὼν μὲν τὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν, καταφρονήσας δὲ προεδριῶν καὶ ἀτελειῶν ἃ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονόσι δίδοται. ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ἁρμόδιος οὐ διὰ τὸ γένος ἐτιμήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.* If *καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος* is retained, the following *καί* must be considered as *epexegetic.*

εἰργασμένων] In an active sense, as always in Sophocles (Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 22), and very frequently elsewhere: cf. §§ 146, 178, 299, 300. Comp. 36. 36 *εἰσπέπρακται* 'has got in:' 31. 5 *ὡρισμένος τὴν οἰκίαν* 'having put up tablets on:' Pl. *Euthyph.* 2 A *γραφὴν σέ τις...γέγραπται*; *ἐξηρπασμένοι Oed. Col.* 1016: *κεκλαυμέναι Oed. Tyr.* 1490: *κεκόμισμαι* Dem. 18. 231: *ὑπηγκαλισμένη* Eur. *Heracl.* 42.

ὑπῆρξαν] 'conferred on you:' Herod. 7. 8. 2 *ἐμὲ ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιοῦντες*: Xen. *An.* 2. 3. 23 *ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρξῃ*: Lys. 21. 25 *τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένων*: Dem. 21. 46 *οἱ προϋπαρχοῦντες τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ*: 1. 40.

For the honours conferred on these, the *εὐεργέται κατ' ἐξοχήν* of Athens (Aesch. 1. 140), cf. *Dict. of Gr. and R. Biography* s.v. Harmodius: Isaeus, quoted above. According to Dem. 20. 18, their exemption from public

σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ
281 τιμᾶτε ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, τούτους μὲν πάντας
τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δίκην ὑπεσχηκέναι, καὶ μήτε συγγνώμην
μήτ' ἔλεον μήτε παιδία κλάοντα ὁμώνυμα τῶν εὐεργετῶν
μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὠφεληκέναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ
γραμματιστοῦ καὶ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγούσης,
ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρα τέθνηκεν ἱέρεια, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς λαβόντες, τὸν τῶν
τοιούτων, τὸν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, οὐκ αὐτόν, οὐ
282 πατέρα, οὐκ ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν τούτου, ἀφήσετε; ποῖος γὰρ
ἵππος, ποία τριήρης, ποία στρατεία, τίς χορός, τίς λειτουρ- 432
γία, τίς εἰσφορά, τίς εὔνοια, ποῖος κίνδυνος, τί τούτων ἐν

burdens was not complete. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως εἰσφορῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν... οὐδεὶς ἐστ' ἀτελὴς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων, οὐδ' οὓς οὗτος (Leptines) ἔγραψε, τοὺς ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.

§ 281. **τούτους μέν**] Summing up the foregoing and restating the protasis, 'that these should all have suffered the punishment ordained by (§ 215) the laws.'

παιδία κλάοντα] A recognized way of moving the pity of the Jurors (Arist. *Vesp.* 568, 973: Dem. 21. 186: Aesch. 2. 179: Hyper. *pr. Eux.* fin. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν σοὶ...βεβοήθηκα ὅσα εἶχον· λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ τὰ παιδία ἀναβιβάζεσθαι: Ps. D. 25. 84 οὐχὶ παιδία, οὐχὶ μητέρας τῶν κρινομένων ἐνίων γραῦς παρεστώσας ὁρῶν οὗτος ἠλέει), which Socrates characteristically declined to avail himself of, Pl. *Apol.* c. 23. Cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 1, § 228 sq. Lys. 20. 34 καίτοι ὁρῶμέν γ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐάν τις παῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος κλαίῃ καὶ ὀδύρηται, τούς τε παῖδας δι' αὐτὸν εἰ ἀτιμωθήσονται ἐλεοῦντας, καὶ ἀφιέντας τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἁμαρτίας διὰ τοὺς παῖδας.

For the form **κλάοντα** see § 310; Veitch *Gr. V.* p. 322.

ἐφ' οἷς] i.e. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφ' οἷς, 'who assembles the troops of orgiasts (§ 199) for purposes another priestess has died for.' Λέγει δὲ τὴν Νίνον λεγομένην. κατηγόρησε δὲ ταύτης Μενεκλῆς ὡς φίλτρα ποιούσης τοῖς νέοις. Schol. Cf. Dem. 39. 2 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευάσας ἐργαστήριον συκοφαντῶν, Μνησικλέα τε...καὶ Μενεκλέα τὸν τὴν Νίνον ἐλόντα ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοιούτους τινάς.

τέθνηκεν] 'has been put to death;' § 137.

οὐδὲ καθ' ἕν as opposed to Epicrates πολλὰ χρήσιμος τῇ πόλει § 277, and the rest of the εὐεργέται.

αὐτόν] supr. 271: 'either himself, or his father, or any of his family.'

§ 282. **ποῖος...τίς**] alternating without any real difference of meaning, as in Ps. D. 7. 36 τίνι μηνὶ καὶ ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, where immediately after we have τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι ἡμέρᾳ: infr. 342: 18. 34: Aesch. 2. 160. Cf. supr. 79.

εὔνοια] 'offering of good will,' 'benevolence' shown in ἐπιδόσεις: 21. 160, 161: 18. 171 οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ ταῦτ' ἐποιήσαν. Comp. 8. 25 φασὶ δὲ εὐνοίας διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοὔνομ' ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. These answer to the 'benevolences' so oppressive in England during the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. Hallam *Const. Hist.* 1. p. 14. Of such φιλοτιμίαι as those here mentioned Dem. could himself boast (supr. 39 *note*), and they were often pleaded before the courts. Comp. Xen. *Oecon.* c. 2. 16 sq. with

παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ γέγονε παρὰ τούτων τῇ πόλει; καίτοι κἂν εἰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑπῆρχεν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ μὴ προσῆν, τὸ δικαίως καὶ προῖκα πεπρεσβευκέναι, ἀπολωλέναι δήπου προσῆκεν
283 αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ μήτε ταῦτα μήτ' ἐκεῖνα, οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνησθήσεσθε ὧν κατηγορῶν ἔλεγε Τιμάρχου, ὡς οὐδέν ἐστ' ὄφελος πόλεως ἥτις μὴ νεῦρα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἔχει, οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἐν ᾗ συγγνώμη καὶ παραγγελία τῶν νόμων μεῖζον ἰσχύουσιν· οὐδ' ἐλεεῖν ὑμᾶς οὔτε τὴν μητέρα δεῖν τὴν Τιμάρχου, γραῦν γυναῖκα, οὔτε τὰ παιδία οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ὁρᾶν, ὅτι εἰ προήσεσθε τὰ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
284 πολιτείας, οὐχ εὑρήσετε τοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσοντας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ταλαίπωρος ἄνθρωπος ἠτίμωται ὅτι τοῦτον εἶδεν ἀδικοῦντα, τούτῳ δ' ἀθῴῳ δώσετ' εἶναι; διὰ τί; εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντων τηλικαύτην ἠξίωσε δίκην Αἰσ-

Isae. 6. 60 and Lys. 21. 1 sq., from which a good idea may be formed of the calls upon an Athenian gentleman, especially if he was φιλότιμος.

κίνδυνος] a service performed at the risk of life, 'dangerous service.'

παρὰ τούτων] 'has come from these men,' i. e. Aeschines and his family. Cf. 18. 310 sq.

κἂν εἰ] Madv. 139 b, and Jebb's note on Soph. *El.* 1485: 'Yet even though he could show all these and there were not added to them that he has conducted himself as ambassador honestly and uncorruptly surely he ought to suffer death.' S omits τό before δικαίως, and so Vöm. and Dind. It is omitted *passim* after a τοῦτο or ἐκεῖνο, as 9. 9 and 23: 3. 12: 20. 12: 21. 170 &c.; but here the weight of MS. authority is in favour of retaining it.

§ 283. **παραγγελία**] Cf. § 1. Nothing of the kind is now to be found in Aeschines' speech. The charge of yielding to συγγνώμη is one often made against the people. Dein. 1. 55 οὐχ ὡς ὑμεῖς...δικάζειν ἐνιότε εἴθεσθε τῇ συγγνώμῃ πλέον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ ἀπονέμοντες; it being, with ἔλεος and φιλανθρωπία, a special characteristic of the Athenians. 21. 184: 24. 51: Ps. D. 25. 81.

γραῦν γ. as in Ps. D. 47. 81 τήν τε τίτθην συγκόψαι, γραῦν γυναῖκα.

τὰ τῶν νόμων] 'the claims of the laws and the constitution.'

§ 284. **ἠτίμωται**] Vulg., Vöm., Sh. ed. 3: ἠτιμώσεται L, Bekk. st.: ἠτιμώσεται 'sic punctis notatum' (Vöm.), to mark the clerical error. The 3rd future is rare in verbs with the temporal augment. To ἠτιμώσεται Cobet *Nov. Lect.* p. 241 adds ἀπηλλάξεσθε Arist. *Acharn.* 757, ῥήσεται Pl. *Prot.* 338 c and ἀνεῴξεται Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 14. Cf. Veitch p. 97. Tr. 'But when that unhappy man has been disfranchised (as he is at this moment) will you allow Ae. to go unpunished?' The idea that Timarchus had been put to death or was dead when Dem. spoke, arose from a mistaken interpretation of ἀνῄρηκεν (§ 2), ἀπώλεσεν (§ 285), and ἀπόλωλε (§ 287). That ἠτίμωται is perfectly consistent in every way with his being alive, is clear from 21. 91, where it is said of Straton who is supposed to be produced before the Court, οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἠτίμωται (καθάπαξ ἄτιμος γέγονε § 87: ἁπλῶς οὕτως ἠτίμωται § 99) καὶ παραπόλωλεν.

ἑαυτούς] 'from those who tres-

χίνης λαβεῖν, παρὰ τῶν εἰς τὰ τῆς πόλεως τηλικαῦθ' ἡμαρτηκότων, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ὢν ἐξελέγχεται, πηλίκην ὑμᾶς προσήκει
285 λαβεῖν τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας καὶ δικάζοντας; νὴ Δί', οἱ νέοι γὰρ ἡμῖν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔσονται τὸν ἀγῶνα βελτίους. οἰκοῦν καὶ διὰ τόνδε οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, δι' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει· προσήκει δὲ καὶ τούτων φροντίζειν. ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον ἀπώλεσε, τὸν Τίμαρχον, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων παίδων, ὅπως ἔσονται σώφρονες, προορῶν (εἰσὶ γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νῦν σώφρονες· μὴ γὰρ 433
οὕτω γένοιτο κακῶς τῇ πόλει ὥστε Ἀφοβήτου καὶ Αἰσχίνου
286 σωφρονιστῶν δεηθῆναι τοὺς νεωτέρους), ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλεύων ἔγραψεν, ἄν τις ὡς Φίλιππον ὅπλα ἄγων ἁλῷ ἢ σκεύη τρι-

passed against himself and his associates.'

τὰ τῆς π.] 'the interests of the state.'

§ 285. **νὴ Δί'...γάρ**] In answer to *εἰ...ἠξίωσε*: cf. supr. 188: 8. 16 *νὴ Δία, κακοδαιμονοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι*: 9. 68. 'Yes, he will say, for we shall find our young men the better for that trial.' Aeschines had urged this in his speech against Timarchus, and repeats it in his reply to Demosthenes 2. 180 *ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν πατέρες εἰσὶ παίδων ἢ νεωτέρους ἀδελφοὺς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες ὅτι τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης παράκλησιν διὰ τῆς περὶ Τίμαρχον κρίσεως ἀειμνήστως αὐτοὺς παρακέκληκα.*

κινδυνεύεται] 'Well, so for this will our public men, on whom it turns whether the most important interests of the state are imperilled;' infr. 298. Cf. 34. 28 *ὅτι τὰ χρήματα ἤδη κινδυνεύεται τῷ δανείσαντι*: 30. 10 *τὴν οὐσίαν...τὴν οὕτω κινδυνευθήσεσθαι μέλλουσαν*, by which passages Cobet (Hyp. *Fun. Or.* p. 67) supports his emendation of 30. 16 *ἵνα μὴ κινδυνεύοιθ' ἡ πρόξ.*

οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχί] Cf. § 212.

τῶν παίδων is drawn into the principal clause as object, as *τὴν εἰρήνην* § 16 *note:* infr. 398: 'not most certainly out of a desire to make your children moral.'

μὴ γάρ] 'Never may such misfortune befal us, that our young men should need an Aphobetus or an Aeschines to reform them,' 'as censors of morals.' Hyper. *c. Dem.* fragm. 9 *νῦν δὲ τούναντίον οἱ νέοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη σωφρονίζουσι.* Dem. hints a similar charge in § 287: cf. supr. § 200. Dobree quotes Ps. D. 25. 31 *μὴ γάρ, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τοσαύτη σπάνις ἀνδρῶν γένοιτο τῇ πόλει ὥστε παρ' Ἀριστογείτονος τῶν καλῶν τι ποιήσασθαι.*

§ 286. **ὅπλα**] A natural prohibition in time of war, as the manufactories at Athens had a large foreign trade. But there were certain commodities of which the exportation was prohibited, perhaps at all times, but with special penalties in time of war, as timber, rigging, tar (Arist. *Ran.* 383), and such articles as were required for building or equipping ships. Hence the joke in Arist. *Eq.* 279 *τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ 'νδείκνυμι, καί φημ' ἐξάγειν ταῖσι Πελοποννησίων τριήρεσι ζωμεύματα.* Cf. Böckh *Publ. Econ.* Bk. 1. c. 9.

Only the Zurich ed. have been found to follow S in omitting *δέ* after *σημεῖον*: Madv. 196 r.: 'here is the proof; How long...?': 'To prove this, let me ask...?' According to Aesch. 1. 109 Timarchus was a member of the Council in the archonship of Nicophemus B.C. 361. He had thus been a pub-

ηρικά, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. σημεῖον δέ· πόσον γὰρ ἐδημηγόρει χρόνον Τίμαρχος; πολύν. οὐκοῦν τοῦτον ἦν Αἰσχίνης ἅπαντα ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἠγανάκτησεν οὐδὲ δεινὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰ ὁ τοιοῦτος λέγει, ἕως εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐμίσθωσεν. λέγε δή μοι τὸ ψήφισμα λαβὼν αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Τιμάρχου.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

287 Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν γράψας μὴ ἄγειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὅπλα, εἰ δὲ μή, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, ἀπόλωλε καὶ ὕβρισται· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων ὅπλα ἐκείνῳ παραδοὺς οὑτοσὶ κατηγόρει, καὶ περὶ πορνείας ἔλεγεν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, δυοῖν μὲν κηδεσταῖν παρεστηκότων, οὓς ἰδόντες ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀνακράγοιτε, Νικίου τε τοῦ βδελυροῦ, ὃς ἑαυτὸν ἐμίσθωσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον Χαβρίᾳ, καὶ τοῦ καταράτου Κυρη-

lic man for at least 14 years before his trial, and had held some important offices, though of course he had, according to Ae., misconducted himself in all. Cf. Aesch. 1. 110 sq. The decree here mentioned was passed before the negotiations with Philip began (infr. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ) in Ol. 108. 2 (B.C. 347, 6): Aesch. 1. 80 ἐβούλευε πέρυσιν.

ἠγανάκτησεν...εἰ] Madv. 194 c.: 'expressed indignation that such a man should speak.' Cf. 138 ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀκούῃ λέγοντας.

λέγε δή is the apodosis to ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ'.

§ 287. **μὴ ἄγειν**] The omission of the indefinite pronoun is constant in laws and decrees: e.g. Isae. 2. 13 ὃς κελεύει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξεῖναι διαθέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ. 'He then who on your behalf proposed a decree forbidding the exportation of arms to P. on pain of death has been ruined (politically and socially § 107 and 267; comp. Cic. *pr. Quinctio* § 49: *pr. Sext. Am.* § 113) and disgraced.'

ἀπόλωλε καὶ ὕβρισται] Cf. § 90 *note*.

Νικίου] In replying to this passage Aesch. 2. 150 speaks of a brother in law Philon as having been abused by Demosthenes, ἐκπέπληγμαι δὲ εἰ σὺ λοιδορεῖν Φίλωνα τολμᾷς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις Ἀθηναίων. Unless Dem. afterwards altered this passage, we may suppose that Nicias was a brother in law of whom Aeschines had nothing to say in refutation of the charge.

εἰς Αἴγυπτον] 'to go into Egypt.' Andoc. 1. 11 ἦν...ἐκκλησία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς εἰς Σικελίαν: Dem. 21. 161 ἐπιδόσεις ἦσαν εἰς Εὔβοιαν; Aesch. 3. 100 ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρετρίαν.

Κυρηβίων is the nickname of the other brother in law Epicrates. Alexis the Comic poet (Athen. 6. 242), giving a list of τρεχέδειπνοι, mentions a Κυρηβίων among others, designated by their nicknames, ἔπειτα Κόρυδος, Κωβίων, Κυρηβίων, ὁ Σκόμβρος, ἡ Σεμίδαλις, upon which Athenaeus remarks Κυρηβίων δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἐπικράτης, ὁ Αἰσχίνου τοῦ ῥήτορος κηδεστής, ὥς φησι Δ. ἐν τῷ περὶ παραπρεσβείας. The Scholiast's explanation is λέγει δὲ τὸ κάθαρμα καὶ εὐτελές· κυρήβια γὰρ τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα τοῦ σίτου λέγουσιν. Aeschines admits that his brother in law was of an easy disposition and readily led

βίωνος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει. καὶ τί ταῦτα; ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁρῶν Ἀφόβητον. ἀλλὰ δῆτα ἄνω ποταμῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντες οἱ περὶ πορνείας ἐρρύησαν λόγοι.

288 Καὶ μὴν εἰς ὅσην ἀτιμίαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡ τούτου πονηρία καὶ ψευδολογία καταστήσασα ἔχει, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφεὶς, ὃ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἴστε ἐρῶ. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψήφισται, τοῦτ' ἐπετήρουν οἱ ἄλλοι 434
πάντες Ἕλληνες· νῦν δ' ἤδη περιερχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, τί δέδοκται τοῖς ἄλλοις σκοποῦντες, καὶ ὠτακουστοῦντες τί τὰ τῶν Ἀρ-

astray, but denies the charge here brought against him, *τὴν Ἐπικράτους εὐαγωγίαν...ἐπανάγεις εἰς ὀνείδη. καὶ τίς αὐτὸν εἶδε πώποτε ἀσχημονήσαντα ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς σὺ φῄς, ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἢ νύκτωρ.*

τοῦ πρ.] 'who walks in your revel processions without his mask,' 'without the mask' all decent people have. Theophr. *Ch.* 15 gives it as a mark of the 'reckless man' (*ἀπονενοημένος*) that *δυνατὸς καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον μὴ ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ.*

καὶ τί...ἀλλά] Cf. § 182 *n.*: 'but what is this?' 'This is nothing; he did it with his brother A. standing before him. But in good sooth on that day all the talking about prostitution was a flowing up stream,' unnatural and totally inconsistent with the character and surroundings of the man from whom it proceeded. The proverb is found more fully expressed in Eur. *Med.* 404 *ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαὶ καὶ δίκα καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται*, where see Paley's note. The meaning of the passage is the same as in Hor. 1 *Carm.* 29. 10 'quis neget arduis pronos relabi posse rivos montibus et Tiberim reverti quum tu...'

§§ 288, 289. *You must be aware of the dishonour to which our state has been brought through Aeschines' villainy. Once the decrees of Athens were eagerly looked for by all Hellas; now you go about enquiring what the rest have resolved, whether Philip is alive or dead, and the like. It alarms me to think that the abhorring and punishing of wrong doers is dead in the commonwealth, if Philip's hirelings are allowed impunity and your trusted statesmen get up to defend them after their guilt has been proved.*

κ. ἔχει] a periphrasis of the perfect: Madv. 179: 'has brought.'

τί] the clause being in the form it would have assumed in the or. recta: Madv. 198 b: 'what you had decreed used to be watched for by the other Hellenes.'

νῦν δ' ἤδη] pr. S, L, Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm.; 'but now it has come to this that:' supr. 260 *νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παραιρεῖται.* Sh. reads *νῦν δὲ δή* 'now at this very time' with L sec. m. and vulg.: but *ἤδη* forms a better antithesis here to *πρότερον.* Tr. 'But now it has come to this that *we* go about enquiring what the others have resolved to do, and listening to hear what news there is of the A., what of the A., whither Ph. will march, whether he is alive or dead.' Cf. 3. 5: 4. 11, from which it appears that reports of Philip's death or illness were often flying about at Athens. *πάρεισι* is of course *future* in signification. Veitch p. 200.

For **ὠτακουστοῦντες** comp. with Dobr. Herod. 8. 130 *ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκῃ πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.* Cf. Ps. D. 10. 23 *ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πυνθάνεσθε τί ποιεῖ Φίλιπ-*

κάδων, τί τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ποῖ πάρεισι Φίλιππος, ζῇ ἢ
289 τέθνηκεν. οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦμεν; ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ δέδοικα εἰ Φίλιπ-
πος ζῇ, ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μισεῖν
καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι· οὐδὲ φοβεῖ με Φίλιππος ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν
ὑγιαίνῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἄδεια γενήσεται τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου
μισθαρνεῖν βουλομένοις, καὶ συνεροῦσί τινες τούτοις τῶν ὑφ'
ὑμῶν πεπιστευμένων, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον
ἀρνούμενοι μὴ πράττειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου νῦν ἀναβήσονται,
290 ταῦτα φοβεῖ με. τί γὰρ δή ποτε, Εὔβουλε, Ἡγησίλεῳ μὲν
κρινομένῳ, ὃς ἀνεψιός ἐστί σοι, καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ πρῴην, τῷ
Νικηράτου θείῳ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ψήφου οὐδ' ὑπακοῦσαι

πος καὶ ποῖ πορεύεται, and 4. 10 sq.

§ 289. **τὸ μισεῖν καὶ τ.** are ascribed to the state as a habit and quality of it, 'the state's abhorrence and punishment of criminals:' Dobr. quotes 37. 34 οὐ γὰρ τὸ γιγνώσκειν καὶ συνιέναι τὰ δίκαια ὑμῶν ἐξαλεῖψαι δυνήσεται. Cf. also 24. 37 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ γνῶναι καὶ δοκιμάσαι τὸ βέλτιστον ἐξελέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν οὐδὲ εἷς: and comp. 23. 204 οὐδὲ γὰρ δίκην ἔτι λαμβάνειν ἐθέλετε παρὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξελήλυθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] lit. 'if the things coming from you;' 'if things with you are in a sound state:' 5. 6 τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα: 8. 42 τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν, which is nearly = ὑμετέραν: 3. 19 ἡ παρ' ἑκάστου βούλησις: 20. 30 τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ποιήσει 'by your adoption,' and so very frequently in cases where the older writers would rather use a possessive pronoun or the (subjective or objective) genitive. Cf. *n.* to § 51; and comp. 8. 5 τά γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἕτοιμα ὑπάρχοντα ὁρῶ: 54. 36 ἡ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἑτοιμότης. Vömel with one or two inferior MSS. injudiciously reads παρ' ὑμῖν.

τῶν πεπιστευμένων] i.e. Eubulus, Phocion and the other *advocati* of Aeschines; 'if certain of those who have gained your confidence (supr. § 277) will plead for them (Ae. and his associates) and after denying all along that they are P.'s agents will get up for these men—this is what alarms me!'

§§ 290—295. *Eubulus who resisted the calls of kinship in the case of Hegesilaus with great inconsistency appears in support of Aeschines who had attacked him, forgetting the strong language he himself used against P. in your hearing; and after making a great display of zeal in bringing petty offenders to justice seeks to procure acquittal for these men who admit that they have been bribed to work the ruin of our allies. It was just these great offenders who caused all the mischief in Elis, Olynthus and Megara. But it is not constitutional or for your interest that any one should be powerful enough to secure the acquittal of such a criminal as Aeschines, or interfere with you in the exercise of your duty. Let Eubulus like the great statesmen who preceded him confine his influence to the Assembly.*

Ἡγησίλεῳ] οὗτος εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐπεστατήγησεν, ὅτε τῷ Πλουτάρχῳ τὴν βοήθειαν ἔπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς εἶπεν ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς (1. 8: 5. 5). ἐκρίθη δὲ ὡς συνεξαπατήσας τῷ Πλουτάρχῳ τὸν δῆμον. Schol. The expedition was strongly opposed by Demosthenes 5. l. c.: Grote 11. 474.

ἐπὶ τῆς πρ. ψ] 'on the first voting' to determine the question of guilty or not guilty. Cic. *de Orat.*

καλούμενος ἤθελες, εἰς δὲ τὸ τίμημα ἀναβὰς ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐκείνων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔλεγες, ἐδέου δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν συγγνώμην ἔχειν σοι. εἶτα ὑπὲρ μὲν συγγενῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀνθρώ-
291 πων οὐκ ἀναβαίνεις, ὑπὲρ Αἰσχίνου δὲ ἀναβήσει, ὅς, ἡνίκ' ἔκρινεν Ἀριστοφῶν Φιλόνικον καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τῶν σοὶ πεπραγμένων κατηγόρει, συγκατηγόρει μετ' ἐκείνου σοῦ καὶ

1. § 231 'ergo ille quoque (Socrates) damnatus est; neque solum primis sententiis (ἐπὶ τῆς πρ. ψ.), quibus tantum statuebant judices damnarent an absolverent, sed etiam illis quas iterum legibus ferre debebant.' Sh. quotes Aesch. 3. 197 ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμήσει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Cf. also Ps. D. 25. 83: Ps. D. 59. 6: Lys. 27. 16. Ridd. *Introduct. to Pl. Apol.* p. vi.

εἰς τὸ τ.] i. e. the assigning of the penalty to be inflicted now that the defendant had been found guilty; 'and when you got up on the question of punishment you did not say a word on their behalf but begged the jury to excuse you?'

εἶτα...μὲν...δέ] Cf. § 132 *note.* So 21. 57, 226: 23. 109 εἶτ' Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν ἴσασι τὸ μέλλον προορᾶν, ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' οὐχὶ ποιήσετε; 35. 45 ἔπειτα, ὦ Λάκριτε, σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο δίκαιον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τί οὐκ ἔσται; Cicero is very fond of this mode of expression; *Tusc. Disp.* 5. § 90 An Scythes Anacharsis potuit pro nihilo pecuniam habere; nostrates philosophi facere non poterunt? ib. § 104: *Orat.* §§ 109, 144: *Catil.* 1. § 17 Servi mei si me isto pacto metuerent, domum meam relinquendam putarem; tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? *Tusc. D.* 2. § 39 Ergo haec veteranus miles facere poterit, doctus vir sapiensque non poterit? Ἄρα which in Plato is so often found in one or both clauses (*Prot.* 325 C: *Crito* c. 12: *Rep.* 10 p. 600 D) is very rarely so used in the Orators, as Lys. 3. 30: 31. 28. Tr. 'Then do you refuse to get up for relatives and near connections, but will you get up for Ae. who when Aristophon was prosecuting Philonicus and through him arraigning your conduct joined him (Aristophon) in accusing you and came out (§ 115) as one of your enemies?'

§ 291. **ἀναβαίνεις**] i.e. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, a technical word in this case. Hence the expressions τοὺς φίλους, τὰ παιδία, &c. ἀναβιβάζεσθαι Isocr. 15. 321: Aesch. 3. 7: Hyper. *pr. Eux.* § 10. Sh. well compares 21. 206, where Dem. comments on the refusal of Eubulus to come forward to speak for Meidias in the assembly, καλούμενος ὀνόματι...οὐκ ἀνέστη, and speaks of his readiness to accuse others. In § 205 of that speech he attributes Eubulus' support of Meidias to his hatred of himself.

δι' ἐκείνου] i.e. aiming a blow at him through the other's side: 21. 116 φανερῶς ἤδη δι' ἐμοῦ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἐσυκοφάντει.

μετ' ἐκείνου *might* mean 'accused you along with him' i. e. Philonicus, but the point of the passage requires that we should understand it as above: 'A. attacked you and Ae. supported him:' nor is there any difficulty in using ἐκείνου of two different persons as Sh. has shown by Pl. *Gorg.* 457 D περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ...ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν: Thuc. 4. 30 σφίσι (to the Athenians)...σφᾶς αὐτούς (the Spartans). Cf. also Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 14 οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν (i. e. the Eleans) ἐκβάλλουσιν αὐτούς (the Arcadians); Thuc. 2. 5 καὶ αὐτοὶ (the Plataeans) ἔφασαν αὐτῶν (the Thebans) τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν. For the combination συγ... and μετά cf. 18. 229 μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν; ib. 236: 21. 127:

τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν σῶν εἰς ἐξητάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ μὲν τουτουσὶ δεδιξάμενος, καὶ φήσας καταβαίνειν εἰς Πειραιᾶ δεῖν ἤδη καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ στρατιωτικὰ ποιεῖν, ἢ χειροτονεῖν ἃ συνεῖπε μὲν οὗτος ἔγραψε δ' ὁ βδε-
292 λυρὸς Φιλοκράτης, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχρὰν ἀντ' ἴσης συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀδικήμασι πάντ' ἀπο- 435
λωλέκασι, τηνικαῦτα διήλλαξαι; καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δήμῳ κατηρᾶ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν παίδων ὤμνυες ἢ μὴν ἀπολω-

Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 131 κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συνατυχοῦντες: Pl. *Cratyl.* 422 C συνεπίσκεψαι μετ' ἐμοῦ. Of *Philonicus* nothing seems to be known beyond what is said here. *Aristophon* is mentioned below § 297. The next sentence as it stands is anomalous in construction, δεδιξάμενος being a *nom. pendens* (cf. supr. 266), the Orator having substituted for ἐποίησας or a similar verb ἐξ ὧν συνέβη, which served his purpose equally well, while it carried the hearer on to πάντ' ἀπολωλέκασι. Tr. 'and when you having terrified the people (the Jurors representing the whole people, as often: 18. 88 ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω τὴν πόλιν λέγω) and declared that they must at once go down to the P. and contribute money and convert the theatrical into a military fund or vote what (§ 144) Ae. advocated and the odious P. moved, in consequence of which it came to pass that the peace was concluded on disgraceful instead of honorable terms, and these men have ruined everything by their subsequent misdeeds, is it *then* you are reconciled?'

εἰς Π.] i. e. to man their fleet. 8. 74 οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;

τὰ θεωρικά] This Dem. during the Olynthian war had in vain urged the people to do through the Nomothetae. Cf. 3. 10: 1. 19. He did not gain his point till the very eve of the battle of Chaeronea. Grote 11. 492. The Schol. on 1. 1 says that Eubulus with the view of increasing his popularity got a law passed which made it a capital offence to propose that the Theoric Fund should be applied to war purposes. That there was such a law is certain (3. 11: Ps. D. 59. 4 sq.), but it is nowhere mentioned in the authorities now extant that Eubulus was the author of it. Thirl. 5. 300.

§ 292. **ἐξ ὧν** which Bekk. st. omits, is in all the MSS. except pr S, and there 'add. antiq.' according to Vömel. Cf. 18. 21 οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα, εἰῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι, Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν.

καὶ...μὲν...δέ as supr. 290: 'and after cursing P. (cf. on § 130 κατηρᾶτο τῇ πατρίδι) in the assembly and swearing with imprecations on your children that you would like him to be destroyed will you now help Ae?'

κατὰ τῶν π.] Cf. Thuc. 5. 47 ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὅρκον τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων, in which the preposition expresses the laying of the hand upon the head of the victim, the fate of which was to be that of the parties swearing in case of perjury. Cf. *Il.* 3. 301: Livy 1. 25. Hence are to be explained Dem. 29. 26 (quoted by Sh.) ἡ μήτηρ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς...πίστιν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιθεῖναι παραστησαμένη: ib. §§ 33, 52, 54: 54. 38 κατὰ τούτων ὀμεῖται: Lys. 32. 13, the children being devoted to destruction in case of perjury; Dem. 23. 67 διομεῖται κατ' ἐξωλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους καὶ οἰκίας ...ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐξελεγχθῇ μὴ λέγων τὰ-

λέναι Φίλιππον ἂν βούλεσθαι· νῦν δὲ βοηθήσεις τούτῳ; πῶς οἶν ἀπολεῖται, ὅταν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου δωροδοκοῦντας
293 σὺ σώζῃς; τί γὰρ δή ποτε Μοιροκλέα μὲν ἔκρινας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέταλλα ἐωνημένων εἴκοσιν ἐξέλεξε δραχμὰς παρ' ἑκάστου, καὶ Κηφισοφῶντα γραφὴν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐδίωκες, εἰ τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔθηκεν ἑπτὰ μνᾶς· τοὺς δὲ ἔχοντας, ὁμολογοῦντας, ἐξελεγχομένους ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλέθρῳ ταῦτα πεποι-
294 ηκότας, τούτους οὐ κρίνεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζειν κελεύεις; καὶ μὴν ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστι φοβερὰ καὶ προνοίας καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενα, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ ἐκείνους σὺ ἔκρινες γέλως, ἐκεῖθεν ὄψεσθε. ἦσαν ἐν Ἠλιδι κλέπτοντες τὰ κοινά τινες; καὶ μάλ' εἰκός γε. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις μετέσχεν αὐτόθι νῦν τούτων

ληθῆ, τὴν ἐπιορκίαν ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ καὶ τῷ γένει πλέον οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἕξει. Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s. v. Oaths.

§ 293. **ἐξέλεξε**] 'because (Madv. 194 c) he levied from the lessees of the mines twenty drachmas from each,' by implication extortionately, a sense which does not lie necessarily in the word itself. Andoc. 1. 92 quoted below: 24. 144 *τέλος τι πριάμενος...ἢ ἐκλέγων* 'farmer of taxes or collector:' Ps. D. 49. 49. Böckh in his Diss. on the Mines of Laurium § 8 (*Publ. Econ. App.*) thinks that as from the use of the definite article 'the mines,' Dem. must be supposed to be speaking of some well-known sale of a considerable number of mines which had taken place a short time before, Moerocles must be considered as having been employed to collect purchase moneys, in which capacity he obtained under some false pretences 20 drachmas from each.

τὰ μ. ἐωνημένων] i. e. had purchased perpetual leases of the mines, the State remaining the exclusive and original owner. Böckh ib. § 7. Arist. *Eq.* 362 *ὠνήσομαι μέταλλα*; Dem. 37. 37 *ὅστις ἂν μέταλλον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πρίηται*: 40. 52 *εἰς ὠνήν τινα μετάλλων*, refer to the purchase of such perpetual leases.

γραφὴν...ἐδίωκες] Madv. 26 b. For the gen. i. **χρημάτων** Madv. 61 a.: 'and did you indict C. for having sacred moneys in his hand (embezzlement of sacred moneys), because he paid seven minas into the bank three days after they were due, while persons who have taken money, who admit it, who are convicted on the clearest evidence (cf. § 132)...you do not bring to trial?' C. either owed the money as the rent of some ground attached to a temple, or was a collector of such rents, which through inadvertence, as Dem. would imply, he had not paid in at the proper time. Comp. Andoc. 1. 92 *Κηφίσιος μὲν οὑτοσὶ πριάμενος ὠνὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἐπικαρπίας τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ γεωργούντων ἐννενήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκλέξας, οὐ κατέβαλε τῇ πόλει.*

§ 294. **ἐστι...δεόμενα**] Cf. *n.* to 3. 25: 'call for much prudence and precaution.'

γέλως] Cf. § 72 *ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα γέλως*: 37. 26 *εἰ μὲν...ἔγραψα τἀληθὲς γέλως ἂν ἦν*: here 'laughing matters.'

ἐν Ἠλιδι] Cf. § 260: 9. 27.

καὶ...γε] 'very probably indeed.'

τούτων] emphatic by position: 'Well, was any one of *them* concerned in overthrowing the popular government there lately?'

τοῦ καταλῦσαι τὸν δῆμον; οὐδὲ εἷς. τί δέ; ἦσαν, ὅτ' ἦν Ὄλυνθος, τοιοῦτοί τινες ἄλλοι; ἐγὼ μὲν οἴομαι. ἆρ' οὖν διὰ τούτους ἀπώλετ' Ὄλυνθος; οὔ. τί δ'; ἐν Μεγάροις οὐκ οἴεσθ' εἶναί τινα καὶ κλέπτην καὶ παρεκλέγοντα τὰ κοινά; ἀνάγκη, καὶ πέφηνεν. τίς αἴτιος αὐτόθι νῦν τούτων τῶν
295 συμβεβηκότων πραγμάτων; οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλὰ ποῖοί τινες οἱ τὰ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἀδικοῦντες; οἱ νομίζοντες αὑτοὺς ἀξιόχρεως εἶναι τοῦ Φιλίππου ξένοι καὶ φίλοι προσαγορεύεσθαι, οἱ στρατηγιῶντες καὶ προστασίας ἀξιούμενοι, οἱ μείζους τῶν πολλῶν οἰόμενοι δεῖν εἶναι. οὐ Περίλαος ἐκρίνετο ἔναγχος ἐν Μεγάροις ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ὅτι πρὸς Φίλιππον 436
ἀφίκετο, καὶ παρελθὼν Πτοιόδωρος αὐτὸν ἐξῃτήσατο, καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ πρῶτος Μεγαρέων, καὶ πάλιν ὡς Φίλιππον ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἧκεν ἄγων τοὺς
296 ξένους, ὁ δ' ἔνδον ἐτύρευεν; τοιαῦτα. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τῶν πάντων μᾶλλον εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ ἢ τὸ μείζω τινὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐᾶν γίγνεσθαι. μή μοι σωζέσθω μηδ' ἀπολ-

ἦν] 'existed:' 9. 56 ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις: 20. 22 ἅνπερ ἡ πόλις ᾖ: 18. 72 ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων; supr. § 64.

ἐγὼ μέν] Cf. § 148.

τινα] 'here and there one who,' 'one or two.'

νῦν as just above and § 65, 'of the troubles that have just happened there.' Comp. the argument in 9. 56.

§ 295. **ἀξιόχρεως**] Cf. § 132: 'of consequence enough to be called the friends of P., who covet generalships and are promoted to the position of leaders.' See on § 259 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γνωριμώτατοι.

στρατηγιῶντες] 'longing to be generals,' from στρατηγός: desideratives in ιάω, ιάω being formed from substantives of all declensions, as ὀνητιάω (Theoph. *Ch.* 6 Jebb) from ὠνητής, κλαυσιάω from κλαῦσις. So φονάω (Soph. *Phil.* 1192), μαθητιάω, θανατάω, &c.

ἐν τοῖς τρ.] 'before the 300,' a Council or Court which does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Perilaus figures along with Ptaeodorus and Elixus in the list of traitors in 18. 295: and in 18. 48 as one of those who were neglected or worse treated by Philip after they had served his purpose.

ὁ μέν] i. e. Perilaus.

ἐτύρευεν] lit. 'was making cheese:' 'was plotting:' Arist. *Eq.* 479 καὶ τὰκ Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα συντυρούμενα.

τοιαῦτα] Supr. 228: 'and so on:' 'and the like.'

§ 296. **μείζω...τῶν π.**] in violation of the spirit of the democracy, which the statesmen of the old times so loyally conformed to, as he says in 3. 25 sq. and 23. 207, in contrast with those of his own time. Here he is referring in particular to Eubulus, against whose influence he protests in much the same language 21. 206 sq.

μή μοι] Cf. § 242: 4. 19. 'Don't let me see any one saved or destroyed at the pleasure of this man or that.' 2. 31 μὴ ἃ ἂν ὁ δεῖνα ᾖ ὁ δεῖνα εἴπῃ. Conf. Lys. 14. 21 ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἀρχόντων βοηθῶσιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδείξιν

λύσθω μηδεὶς ἂν ὁ δεῖνα βούληται, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν τὰ πεπραγμένα σώζῃ καὶ τοὐναντίον, τούτῳ τῆς προσηκούσης ψήφου παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπαρχέτω τυγχάνειν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δημοτικόν.

297 ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ καιρῶν γεγόνασιν ἰσχυροί, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, αὖθις Ἀριστοφῶν, Διόφαντος, τούτων ἕτεροι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ ποῦ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐπρώτευεν; ἐν τῷ δήμῳ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐδείς πω μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας ὑμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων οὐδὲ τῶν ὅρκων κρείττων γέγονεν. μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ νῦν τοῦτον ἐάσητε. ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα φυλάττοισθ' ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἢ τούτοις πιστεύοιτε, τῶν θεῶν ὑμῖν μαντείαν ἀναγνώσομαι, οἵπερ ἀεὶ σώζουσι τὴν πόλιν πολλῷ τῶν προεστηκότων μᾶλλον. λέγε τὰς μαντείας.

MANTEIAI.

298 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν θεῶν ἃ ὑμῖν προλέγουσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἀνῃρήκασι, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς λέγουσι φυλάττεσθαι· πολέμου γάρ

μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεως ποιούμενοι, φιλοτιμούμενοι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς φανερῶς ἡμαρτηκότας σώζειν δύνανται: Lys. 18. 13: Aesch. 3. 145.

τούτῳ...ὑ.] Cf. § 1: 'let him be entitled to.'

§ 297. Bekk. st. omits **ἐκεῖνος** with *pr.* S ('add. antiq.' Vöm.): but it is in L, F &c. and is required by the usage of the Orator, 18. 219 πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν...γεγένασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἄλλοι μυρίοι: cf. also 3. 21 τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Νικίαν.

ἐπὶ καιρῶν] 2. 1: 'on occasions.' On Callistratus and Aristophon of Azenia see *Dict. of Biogr.* s.vv.

Diophantus, supr. § 86.

τῆς τ. ἡμέρας] 'up to the present day:' infr. 328. Sh. aptly compares the German 'der heutige Tag.'

In the Courts of Law the people were supreme; hence 24. 2 ἃ δοκεῖ συνέχειν τὴν πολιτείαν, τὰ δικαστήρια; Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 3. Dem. 21. 223: Dein. 3. 16: Aesch. 3. 233 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένῃ νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει.

τοῦτον] Eubulus.

ἢ τούτοις] 'than trust these men,' i.e. Eubulus and the rest included in the τινες...τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπιστευμένων of § 289, present to support Aeschines. Bekk. st. and Dind. omit τούτοις with S, Υ; and so Vöm., on the ground that 'omnino de diffidentiâ agit orator.' It seems to me to be required by what follows. The copyist apparently took offence at τοῦτον...τούτοις, which is not more strange than the sudden passage from the plural to τούτῳ in § 161, where Bekk. st. rightly rejects τούτοις.

σώζουσι] supr. § 256.

§§ 298, 299. *The Oracles enforce the suggestions of prudence. They bid you hold the Commonwealth together and do your best to prevent the enemy from rejoicing. Regard this as a call from Zeus and all the Gods to punish those who have in any way been subservient to the enemy.*

ἀκούετε τῶν θ. ἃ.] Cf. § 285 παίδων ὅπως...προορῶν.

εἰσιν ἡγεμόνες οἱ στρατηγοί· εἰ δὲ πεποιημένων εἰρήνην, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφεστηκότας· οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγοῦνται, τούτοις πείθεσθε ὑμεῖς, ὑπὸ τούτων δέος ἐστὶ μὴ παρακρου- 437
σθῆτε. καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνέχειν φησὶν ἡ μαντεία, ὅπως ἂν μίαν γνώμην ἔχωσιν ἅπαντες καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡδονὴν
99 ποιῶσιν. πότερον οὖν οἴεσθ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν τοσαῦτα κακὰ εἰργασμένον σωθέντα ἢ δίκην δόντα ἡδονὴν Φιλίππῳ ποιῆσαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οἴομαι σωθέντα. φησὶ δέ γε ἡ μαντεία δεῖν ὅπως ἂν μὴ χαίρωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιεῖν. ἅπασι τοίνυν μιᾷ γνώμῃ παρακελεύεται κολάζειν τοὺς ὑπηρετηκότας τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ Διώνη, πάντες οἱ θεοί. ἔξωθεν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες, ἔνδοθεν οἱ συμπράττοντες. οὐκοῦν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων μὲν ἔργον διδόναι, τῶν συμπραττόντων δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς εἰληφότας ἐκσώζειν.

100 Ἔτι τοίνυν κἂν ἀπ' ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ τοῦτ' ἴδοι τις,

τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς π.] 'those set over the government,' 'your leading statesmen' = τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας 9. 2: 9. 56 τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινές.

ἡγοῦνται] absolutely = εἰσὶν ἡγεμόνες, 'take the lead.'

φησίν] = κελεύει 'advises,' 'recommends.' So λέγω, φράζω, οἴομαι, ἡγοῦμαι, νομίζω, &c. are used in a pregnant sense 24. 25 πάντα φιλανθρώπως ... φράζουσι πράττειν: Pl. *Prot.* 346 B ἠγήσατο ἢ τύραννον ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ...ἐπαινέσαι 'thought it his duty to:' Pl. *Laches* 200 B Δάμωνος σὺ οἴει καταγελᾶν: Dem. 21. 71 ὁ τύπτων αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ᾤετο 'meant to...' Cf. Buttm. on Pl. *Alcib.* 1. c. 46. Tr. 'bids you hold the Commonwealth together.' Andoc. 1. 9 ὅπερ καὶ συνέχει μόνον τὴν πόλιν: Dem. 24. 2 quoted above: 24 216: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 79 τὸ συνέχον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ὅρκος ἐστί.

§ 299. **δέ γε**] 'atqui,' marking the 'assumptio' or minor premiss of the Rhetorical Syllogism: 'but the Oracle says you ought to take care your enemies do not rejoice.' Madv. 123. Generally such appeals are followed by a rhetorical question with εἶτα. Cf. 1. 24: 8. 20 εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον· εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο...ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι φήσειεν. εἶθ' ἃ Φίλιππος ἂν εὔξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; 9. 18.

Διώνη who represented the feminine side of his nature, was associated with Zeus at Dodona, and is often mentioned with him in oracles, as Sch. remarks. Cf. 21. 53: Hyp. *pr. Eux.* § 24 ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμῆσαι.

ἔξωθεν] 'they that have designs against you are without, their confederates are within; the business then of the first is to give, of the latter to receive bribes and save from punishment those that have taken them.' The conclusion of his argument thus makes out Eubulus to be one of the confederates of Philip.

§§ 300—314. *By human reasoning one may see that it is mischievous and dangerous in the highest degree to allow a leading statesman to become attached to the enemies of the State. And when you consider the acts and language of Aeschines before he went to Macedonia and his conduct*

ὅτι πάντων ἐχθρότατον καὶ φοβερώτατον τὸ τὸν προεστηκότα ἐὰν οἰκεῖον γίγνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τῷ δήμῳ. τίσι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γέγονε Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, καὶ τίσι τὰ μέγιστα κατείργασται τῶν πεπραγμένων, σκέψασθε. τῷ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων τὰς πράξεις ὠνεῖσθαι, τῷ τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι
301 διαφθείρειν καὶ ἐπαίρειν, τούτοις. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα, ἐὰν βούλησθε, ἀχρεῖα ποιῆσαι τήμερον, ἂν τῶν μὲν μὴ ἐθέλητε ἀκούειν τοῖς τοιούτοις συνηγορούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξητε ἀκύρους ὄντας ὑμῶν (νῦν γάρ φασιν εἶναι κύριοι), τὸν δὲ πεπρακόθ' ἑαυτὸν κολάσητε, καὶ τοῦθ' ἅπαν-
302 τες ἴδωσιν, παντὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἂν ὀργισθείητε, ὦ ἄνδρες 438
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότι καὶ προδεδωκότι συμμάχους καὶ φίλους καὶ καιρούς, μεθ' ὧν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς ἑκάστοις

afterwards, you see a conspicuous instance of the way in which Philip has gained his ends by corrupting and exciting the ambition of statesmen, and giving them aims and objects at variance with the interests of their several states.

κἂν ἀπ'] *Oed. Col.* 403 κἄνευ θεῶν τις τοῦτό γ' ἂν γνώμῃ μάθοι.

ἐχθρότατον] This form of the superlative, condemned by the purists, occurs also in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1346, and is supported by βραχύτατος, ἀγχότατος, &c. We have the comparative ἐχθροτέρους in Proem. 40, and ἐχθροτέρως in 5. 18, where some MSS. have ἐχθροδεστέρως. Perhaps this is the passage referred to in Antiatt. Bekk. p. 92. 24 where it is said ἐχθροτέρως, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐχθρότερον· Θουκυδίδης.

τὸν προεστηκότα] 'one at the head of affairs.' The article is *generic*, with a special reference to Eubulus. Pl. *Phaedr.* 228 B ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ νοσοῦντι περὶ λόγους 'with a man who has a passion for...;' which = the ἀνδρὶ φιλολόγῳ of 236 E. Cf. Heind. on Pl. *Charm.* c. 7; Madv. 180 b.

τὰς πράξεις] Cf. § 133 παρὰ τῶν πολούντων τὰς πράξεις ἐωνεῖτο: Ps. D. 10. 54. He elaborates this point again in 9. 38.

τούτοις] 'by such means:' cf. § 295.

§ 301. **βούλησθε...ἐθέλητε**] as § 23: 'if you choose...if you refuse to listen.' Sh. inserts τῶν before τοῖς τοιούτοις on the authority of L, F and *rec.* S, quoting 18. 102 καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας... Cf. also 20. 12: 22. 67 τῶν μὲν οἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ὄντα, τῶν ἀδικούντων, ὑμᾶς δ'...' The other editors have I think rightly omitted it. τῶν μέν is not *defined* by τοῖς τοιούτοις συνηγορούντων, an idea which led to an insertion of the article, but refers to the previous sentence τῷ τοὺς προεστηκότας &c., and the sense clearly is, 'If you refuse to listen to the one class (of those who help P. to gain his ends) when they plead for persons of this kind (the other class that advance Philip's schemes by selling their country's interests),' and thus show that their boast of being able to sway you at their will is without foundation.

In 3. 30 sq. and 23. 209, on which passages Ps. D. 13. 26 sq. is founded, he describes in strong language the subjection of the people to their public men.

§ 302. **μεθ' ὧν**] Cf. 6. 37 μετὰ

ἔχει τὰ πάντα, οὐ μὴν οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ δικαιότερον ἢ τούτῳ. ὃς γὰρ ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῶν ἀπιστούντων εἶναι Φιλίππῳ, καὶ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἰδὼν ὅτι κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ηὐτομόλησε καὶ προύδωκε καὶ γέγονεν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, πῶς οὐ πολλάκις οὗτος
303 ἄξιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, αὐτὸς οὐχ οἷός τε ἀντειπεῖν ἔσται. τίς γάρ ἐσθ' ὁ τὸν Ἴσχανδρον προσάγων ὑμῖν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὃν παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ φίλων τῇ πόλει δεῦρ' ἥκειν ἔφη; τίς ὁ συσκευάζεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Πελοπόννησον Φίλιππον βοῶν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καθεύδειν; τίς ὁ τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους δημηγορῶν, καὶ τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ψήφισμα ἀναγιγνώσκων καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν

τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν: 38. 26 μετὰ τοῦ λειτουργεῖν τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διεφθαρκότες: 51. 15 τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ παθεῖν μανθάνοντας. Tr. 'with which is bound up the weal or woe of every people.' Cf. 8. 66 where he says that in contrast with the rise and prosperity of their public men they had become ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι· πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους πίστιν εὔνοιαν, ὧν ἁπάντων ἔσθ' ὑμεῖς ἄποροι.

τάξας] 'when he who posted himself as one of,' 'who ranged himself in the ranks of:' cf. § 9.

μόνος καὶ πρ.] 'singly and withal first,' a formalised phrase which occurs also in Aesch. 3. 77 τὴν μόνην καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν: ib. 76 τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον. Dem. 5. 5 πρῶτος καὶ μόνος: Ps. Lys. 2. 18. Cf. § 10.

ηὐτομόλησε] keeping up the metaphor in τάξας: 21. 120 λελοιπέναι...τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν.

γέγονεν ὑπέρ] 'has become a partizan of.'

§ 303. Ischander was mentioned in § 10. For τὸ κατ' ἀ. cf. § 199.

φίλων τῇ πόλει] 'from our friends in A.:' 'the party in A. friendly to us:' infr. 206.

συσκευάζεσθαι] 'was packing against us:' § 55. He uses the same language himself in 8. 5 μήτε συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, and ib. 6 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων λαμβάνων καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος.

Ἑλλάδα καὶ Π.] Compare the Homeric Τρώάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα, Ἴδην καὶ Γάργαρον: Thuc. 5. 112 τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τιμωρίᾳ: Dem. 14. 38 πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Cf. *n.* to 1. 3 ἡμᾶς...καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπουσίαν.

Observe the article used with an extended force, the meaning being 'the decree of M. and that of Th.:' cf. *n.* to 3. 26. Ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων ἐξαρχῆς καὶ ὁ Μιλτιάδης δραμεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐψηφίσατο καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν ἕως συλλεγῶσιν οἱ συμμαχήσοντες. διὸ καὶ νενίκηκε μόνος. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς κατὰ γῆν ἄπορα βλέπων τὰ πράγματα συνεβούλευσε μὲν ἀφεῖναι τὴν πόλιν, εἰς Σαλαμῖνα δὲ μετοικισθῆναι. Schol.

ἐν τῷ] Supr. 249: Lob. *Phryn.* p. 100. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 76 ὑμῖν γάρ ἐστιν ὅρκος, ὃν ὀμνύουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται (supr. § 230), μήτε τὰ ἱερὰ ὅπλα καταισχυνεῖν μήτε τὴν τάξιν λείψειν, ἀμυνεῖν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀμείνω παραδώσειν. Jul. Pollux 8. 105 and

304 ἐφήβων ὅρκον; οὐχ οὗτος; τίς ὁ πείσας ὑμᾶς μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν πρεσβείας πέμπειν, ὡς ἐπιβουλευομένης μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμῖν δὲ προσῆκον προορᾶν ταῦτα καὶ μὴ προΐεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐχ ὁ μὲν γράφων τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἦν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων εἰς Πελοπόννησον Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί; ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖσε ἅττα μέν ποτε διελέχθη καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείη, ἃ δ' ἀπήγ-
305 γειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι μέμνησθε πάντες. βάρβαρόν τε γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ ἀλάστορα τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλῶν ἐδημηγόρει, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς ἔχαιρον εἰ προσέχει τοῖς πράγμασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐγείρεται ἡ τῶν Ἀθη- 439
ναίων πόλις. ὃ δὲ πάντων μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῆσαι ἔφη· συντυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπιὼν Ἀτρεστίδᾳ παρὰ Φιλίππου πορευομένῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ γύναια καὶ παιδάρια ὡς τριάκοντα βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ θαυμάσας ἐρέσθαι τινὰ τῶν ὁδοιπόρων τίς ἄνθρω-

Stobaeus *Serm.* 41. 141 give the oath in full. Cf. *Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s.v. *Ephebi.* For the legends respecting Aglauros see *Dict. of Biogr.* s.v. *Agraulos.*

§ 304. **μόνον οὐκ**] 'almost to the Red Sea,' the rhetorical equivalent of the *πανταχοῖ πρέσβεις πέμψαι* of § 10 (words used also by himself 8. 76), *μόνον οὐκ* mitigating the force of the expression as in 1. 2.

ὡς...προσῆκον] Madv. 181 r. 2 and 182; 'on the ground that Hellas was plotted against and it became you to foresee these results,' as the champions of Hellenic liberty: cf. *n.* to 4. 3.

εἰς Π.] Cf. § 11.

διελέχθη] a technical word in this case. 2. 6 *Ὀλυνθίους...βουλομένους ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι*: 7. 19 *οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου ἥκοντες ὑμῖν διελέγοντο*; also of coming before the assembly to make a statement 24. 28.

αὐτός] 'himself will know,' 'is only known to himself.' *Oed. Col.* 881 *Ζεῦ ταῦτ' ἂν εἰδείη, σὺ δ' οὔ.*

§ 305. **οἶδ' ὅτι**] Supr. § 9.

βάρβαρον] 'he several times in his speech called (§ 246) P. a barbarian and a pest.' Dem. and the other orators often did the same. Dem. 3. 16 and 20: 9. 25 and 31: infr. 327, speaking of him in reference to his subjects (Thirl. 5. 522); for the Hellenic origin of Philip's family was admitted on all hands. Herod. 8. 137: 9. 45: Thuc. 2. 99: 5. 80, and Isocr. 5. 32 says to Philip *Ἄργος μὲν γάρ ἐστί σοι πατρίς, Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν* (Herakles) *τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τιμῶσιν.*

τοὺς Ἀ....ὡς] Supr. § 298: 'and he reported to you that the A. were rejoiced to think that Athens was beginning to attend to her affairs and arousing herself' from her sleep § 303: 6. 18 *διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν*: Ps. D. 10. 6: Pl. *Ion* 532 C *οὔτε προσέχω τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς νυστάζω· ἐπειδάν δέ τις περὶ Ὁμήρου μνησθῇ, εὐθύς τε ἐγρήγορα καὶ προσέχω τὸν νοῦν*: ib. 536 B *καθεύδεις τε καὶ ἀπορεῖς ὅ,τι λέγῃς...εὐθὺς ἐγρήγορας.*

ὃ δὲ...γάρ] Madv. 197; 'but what made him most indignant, he said, was that on his way back...'

τίς...ἐστι] 'who the man was.' In the Greek the question, on the principle mentioned in § 77, retains the form it would have in the *or. rect.*

306 πός ἐστι καὶ τίς ὄχλος ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι Ἀτρεστίδας παρὰ Φιλίππου τῶν Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτα δωρεὰν ταῦτ' ἔχων ἀπέρχεται, δεινὸν αὐτῷ τι δόξαι καὶ δακρῦσαι καὶ ὀδύρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς κακῶς διάκειται ἢ τοιαῦτα πάθη περιορᾷ γιγνόμενα. καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὑμῖν πέμπειν τινὰς εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν, οἵτινες κατηγορήσουσι τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου πραττόντων· ἀκούειν γὰρ ἔφη τῶν φίλων ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιστροφὴν ἡ πόλις ποιήσηται καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψῃ, δίκην
307 ἐκεῖνοι δώσουσιν. ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν τότε καὶ μάλα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια ἐδημηγόρει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶδε τὸν αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν Φίλιππον, ἆρά γε ὅμοια ἢ παραπλήσια τούτοις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ μήτε τῶν προγόνων μεμνῆσθαι μήτε τρόπαια λέγειν μήτε βοηθεῖν μηδενί, τῶν τε κελευόντων μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι θαυμάζειν, εἰ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἰδίων

§ 306. **ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι**] Cf. supr. 195 ὡς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς παρόντας: 23. 117 ἐπεὶ ὅτι γ' ἀεὶ βουλήσονται εὖ εἰδέναι: 24. 212 ἐπειδὴ φῆσαι τοὺς δικαστάς: Thuc. 2. 93. 3 ἐπεὶ...τολμῆσαι ἄν. Tr. 'and when he heard that it was A. coming away from P. and they were O. captives he had received as a present from him, he thought it a shocking thing and burst into tears and deplored the miserable state of Hellas that she could allow such sad events to take place.' Cf. 9. 28.

αἰχμάλωτα as § 139.

δακρῦσαι] Cf. 197 δακρυσάσης: § 265 ἠγήσαντο: infr. 309 μισήσας.

ὡς] = ὅτι οὕτως Madv. 198 a. r. 3: Isae. 10. 22 ἐλεοῦντας ὡς ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τέθνηκεν: Pl. *Crito* 43 B εὐδαιμόνισα τοῦ τρόπου... ἐν τῇ νῦν παρεστώσῃ ξυμφορᾷ, ὡς ῥᾳδίως αὐτὴν καὶ πρᾴως φέρεις.

περιορᾷ γ.] Cf. § 84.

τῶν τὰ Φ. πρ.] 'P's partizans,' for which we have above 289 πράττειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου: 9. 59 ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ 'was active for P.:' 5. 6 τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα.

For the Fut. **κατηγορήσουσι** see 1. 2: Madv. 115. 1.

ἀκούειν = ἀκούω or ἤκουον (§ 22) of the *or. recta*: 'he heard, he said, from his friends that if our Commonwealth would take the matter up,' 'would turn its attention to it,' a resolution of ἐπιστραφῇ (cf. § 91), which verb occurs in Ps. D. 10. 9: 23. 136; Soph. *Phil.* 599. Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 9 τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι: *Oed. Tyr.* 134 πρὸ τοῦ θανόντος τήνδ' ἔθεσθ' ἐπιστροφήν. Comp. the similar uses of μετατρέπω (*Π.* 1. 160): μεταστρέφεσθαι (Dem. 21. 221): ἐντρέπεσθαι (*Ajax* 90): and the simple στραφείην *Aj.* 1117.

§ 307. For the rhetorical separation of **καὶ μάλα** (in which *καί* is *intensive:* 3. 2: supr. 157 *note*) see § 102.

τὸν ἐχθρόν refers to Ae.'s language above; 'the great enemy of himself and Hellas.'

ἆρά γε...] Cf. § 63: 'was it (his language) like or similar to this? Very far from it. It was that...' Comp. what he says in § 16.

τῶν... θαυμάζειν, εἰ] Instead of the ordinary construction τοῦτο αὐτῶν θαυμάζω (Madv. 53), we not un-

308 ἄλλον τινὰ δεῖ πεισθῆναι· εἶναί τε τὸν Φίλιππον αὐτόν, Ἡράκλεις, Ἑλληνικώτατον ἀνθρώπων, δεινότατον λέγειν, φιλαθηναιότατον· οὕτω δὲ ἀτόπους τινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι λοιδορουμένους αὐτῷ καὶ βάρβαρον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦντας. ἔστιν οὖν 440
ὅπως ταῦτ' ἄν, ἐκεῖνα προειρηκώς, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μὴ διαφθα-
309 ρεὶς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν; τί δέ; ἔσθ' ὅστις ἂν τὸν Ἀτρεστίδαν τότε μισήσας διὰ τοὺς τῶν Ὀλυνθίων παῖδας καὶ γύναια ταὐτὰ Φιλοκράτει νῦν πράττειν ὑπέμεινεν, ὃς γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἤγαγε δεῦρ' ἐφ' ὕβρει, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ βδελυρῶς βεβιωκέναι γιγνώσκεται ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμὲ αἰσ-

frequently find a participle in the genitive followed by a clause with ὅτι, ὅπως, εἰ (as here and Isocr. 4. 170 &c.), ὅπου &c. (Antiph. 1. § 5 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἥντινά ποτε γνώμην ἔχων ἀντίδικος καθέστηκε κατ' ἐμοῦ: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 136 θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ τῶν συνηγορεῖν αὐτῷ μελλόντων, διὰ τί ποτε τοῦτον ἀξιώσουσιν ἀποφυγεῖν: Lys. 12. 86) assigning the cause of the wonder. More rarely we have a participle without such explanatory clause, as in Isocr. 6. 61 θαυμάζω τῶν μείζω συμμαχίαν ζητούντων ὧν οἱ πολέμιοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐξαμαρτάνοντες: Thuc. 3. 38. 1; or a simple pronoun or substantive in the genitive as Isocr. 10. 2 οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐθαύμαζον αὐτῶν. Cf. Madv. 61 b. r. 1; O. Schneider on Isocr. 4. 1. Tr. 'he was surprised at those who recommended you to consult with the Hellenes about peace with P. if (it was assumed that) any one else (than yourselves: § 271 ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων) required to be persuaded on matters affecting you alone.' Cf. § 116 δυσχεραίνειν ἔν τι...εἰ...αἴτιος γέγονεν.

§ 308. **Ἡράκλεις**] 9. 31: Plat. *Euthyph.* 4 A; 'good heavens.'

Ἑλληνικώτατον] 'ex germanâ Graeciâ' Plaut. *Rudens* 3. 4. 32: 'a perfect' 'thorough Hellene' without a tinge of the barbarian, in compensation for the βάρβαρον καὶ ἀλάστορα. According to Aesch. 2. 41, Dem. himself on their way home admitted that Philip τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων...πάντων εἶναι δεινότατον, which he followed up himself by remarking that 'μνημονικῶς (ib. 43 δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ μνημονικός; Ps. D. 59. 110. Cf. Madv. *De Fin.* p. 73) εἴποι πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα.'

ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχ. represent ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνονται of the *or. recta.* Cf. § 152 *note:* Isae. 11. 27 προσποιεῖται τοίνυν οὗτος...τοῦ μὲν μὴ λαχεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐμὲ εἶναι αἴτιον...ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα οὐ παρακαταβάλλειν αὐτοῖς: Lys. 18. 6 τοσαῦτα ἐνομίζετο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος εἶναι...ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἑτέρας ἐπιθυμῆσαι πολιτείας: Lys. 21. 18 ἡγοῦμαι...ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖν με ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν: Dem. 14. 35: Xen. *Hell.* 6. 2. 6 ὥστ' ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εἴη.

ἔστιν...ὅπως] 'is it conceivable that...' Madv. 102 b. r. 2.

§ 309. **μισήσας**] 'after having then expressed his abhorrence of,' 'execrated:' 9. 53: supr. § 306 δακρῦσαι.

ἐφ' ὕβρει] 'for gratification of his lust:' § 233 ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ.

ἐπὶ...γιγνώσκεται] 'is so notorious for the abominable life he has led:' infr. § 313.

αἰσχρόν] 'scandalous.'

χρὸν εἰπεῖν νυνὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεῖν μηδὲ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον εἰπόντος μόνον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης γυναῖκας ἤγαγε, πάντας ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐλεεῖν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὰς ἀτυχεῖς καὶ ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους, ἃς οὐκ ἠλέησεν Αἰσχίνης, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ ταύταις τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ὑβρί-
310 ζονται. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κλαήσει τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα πεπρεσβευκότος, καὶ τὰ παιδία ἴσως παράξει καὶ ἀναβιβᾶται. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς μὲν τὰ τούτου παιδία, ὅτι πολλῶν συμμάχων ὑμετέρων καὶ φίλων παῖδες ἀλῶνται καὶ πτωχοὶ περιέρχονται δεινὰ πεπονθότες διὰ τοῦτον, οὓς ἐλεεῖν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἄξιον ἢ τοὺς τοῦ

τοὺς περιεστηκότας] 'the bystanders,' who are often referred to: 18. 196 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους: 30. 12 οἱ ..ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τότε δικάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν παρόντων πολλοὶ συνίσασιν.

εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι] Cf. § 9.

ἃς...ἐπὶ ταύταις] See *n.* to 3. 24: 'nor weep for Hellas on their account to think that (Madv. 132 d) among their allies they should be outraged by the ambassadors (of those allies).'

§ 310. **κλαήσει** Bekk. st., Dind., Sh.: κλᾳήσει vulg., Vöm.; κλαιήσει S. This MS. according to Vöm has this form supr. 281: 30. 32: 53. 7: 54. 43: 38. 27: 39. 35: 37. 49: 'in plurimis horum locorum alii codices habent κλάων &c.' Bekk. st. reads κλαιήσει in 21. 99 and 54. 43: κλαίων 30. 32: κλαίειν 38. 27 and ib. ἐκλαίετε: κλαίῃ 39. 35: κλαιήσειν 37. 49: but 53. 7 κλάων and supr. 281 κλάοντα. Cf. Veitch s.v.

It was a recognized thing that the accused should seek to propitiate the jury by tears and humiliation. Hence Socrates, in Plato's *Apol.* c. 23, tells the jury that perhaps some of them would be indignant at his contumacy when they recollected how in some trivial case perhaps some of them had had recourse to such means of moving the jury: ἐδεήθη τε καὶ ἱκέτευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, παιδία τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος, ἵνα ὅ,τι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη ...ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω. Dem. 21. 186 says of Meidias οἶδα τοίνυν ὅτι τὰ παιδία ἔχων ὀδυρεῖται καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους καὶ ταπεινοὺς ἐρεῖ, δακρύων καὶ ὡς ἐλεεινότατον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν: Dein. 1. 108. Cf. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 33 τίνας δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ψυχαγωγῆσαι καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα αὐτῶν τοῦ ἤθους τοῖς δακρύοις εἰς ἔλεον προαγαγέσθαι; τοὺς δικαστάς.

παράξει καὶ ἀν.] 'he will bring forward his children and mount them on the platform:' for which we generally have the one word παραστήσασθαι. Cf. *n.* to § 290 ἀναβαίνεις. Dein. 1. 108 tells the jury that their country τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς γεγενημένους ὑμᾶς ἱκετεύει, παραστησαμένη τὰ ὑμέτερα τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν προδότην (Demosthenes) καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτήν.

ἀλῶνται] 'are vagabonds and going about the country in beggary.' Sch. refers to *Oed. Col.* 444 πτωχὸς ἠλώμην ἐγώ: ib. 1393 ἀλώμενος ἄλλους ἐπαιτῶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον; and *Oed. R.* 1506.

ὑμῖν ἄξιον] 'meet for you.' Arist. *Ach.* 8 ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι: ib. 205 τῇ πόλει γὰρ ἄξιον ξυλλαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον: Dem. 22. 4 ὑμῖν...ἄξιον κολάσαι.

ἠδικηκότος καὶ προδότου πατρός, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέρους παῖδας οὗτοι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις προσγράψαντες τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερήκασιν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου δάκρυα, ὅτι νῦν ἔχετε ἄνθρωπον ὃς εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντας πέμπειν τοὺς κατη-
311 γορήσοντας. νῦν τοίνυν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς Πελοπόννησον δεῖ 441
πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, οὐδ' ὁδὸν μακρὰν βαδίσαι, οὐδ' ἐφόδια ἀναλίσκειν, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τοῦ βήματος ἐνταυθοῖ προσελθόντα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος θέσθαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς ὅς, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, ἐκεῖνα ἃ διεξῆλθον ἐν ἀρχῇ δεδημηγορηκώς, τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, τὰς μάχας, τὰ τρόπαια, ἐξαίφνης, ὡς ἐπέβη Μα-

ἢ τούς...] 'than the children of such a criminal and traitor.'

καὶ τοῖς] 'and that by adding to the treaty of peace the words "and to his descendants" these men have robbed yours even of their hopes:' cf. § 55 ἀποστερῆσαι...τῶν παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐεργεσιῶν τὴν πόλιν.

ἄνθρωπον ὅς] So in the next § κατ' ἀνδρὸς ὅς: Lys. 11. 9 εἰς ἄνδρα ὃς πολλὰς...στρατηγίας ἐστρατήγησε.

§ 311. ὁδὸν...β.] Madv. 26: 'make a long journey.'

ἐφόδια] Cf. supr. 128.

τοῦ βήματος] 'but advance each of you to the platform here and give your righteous, your just verdict on behalf of your country,' the repeated article giving equal prominence to the two adjectives. Cf. supr. 280: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 128 τὴν δικαίαν καὶ τὴν εὔορκον ψῆφον; but Dem. 21. 227 τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ δικαίαν θέμενοι ψῆφον. See note to 2. 9.

The βῆμα here spoken of is what is meant in Arist. *Vesp.* 332 ἢ δῆτα λίθον με ποίησον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς χοιρίνας ἀριθμοῦσιν. It was apparently a part of the raised platform on which the contending parties had their separate stands (βήματα) (Aesch. 3. 207 τοὺς μὲν...ἥκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ...πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντας. In Dem. 48. 21 the speaker says that while the other party was stating his cases ἐκαθήμην ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου βήματος. Cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 962 ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν βάθρον, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἥπερ ἦν Ἐρινύων) and served as a stand for the witnesses called in the course of the trial or the opposite party if put up to be questioned.

ἐνταυθοῖ] The word ἐνταυθοῖ (-θί) occurs some thirteen times in Demosthenes. In 15. 22: Ps. D. 17. 13: supr. 80: 20. 106: 23. 51: 23. 66: 24. 82: 27. 54: 37. 32: 41. 20 the meaning *here* is required. In four of these passages, 20. 106: 23. 66: 27. 54: 41. 20 Bekk. st. reads ἐνταυθοῖ with S: in the others quoted he reads with the same MSS. ἐνταυθί. In 39. 3: 41. 24: where the meaning is 'hither,' he reads with S ἐνταυθοῖ, but in the passage before us ἐνταυθί. Cf. supr. § 81 *note*.

ἐν ἀρχῇ] In §§ 10, 16. The words that follow fall into two pairs as in the passages quoted on § 208: 'after having dilated in his speeches on those topics I mentioned at the outset...suddenly after he had set foot on M. soil, held the very opposite language.' Aeschines answers this in 2. 23 and 152 οὐ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία κακοὺς ἢ χρηστοὺς ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις· οὐδ' ἐσμὲν ἕτεροί τινες ἥκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ' οἵους ἐξεπεμψατε. Cf. the similar argument in Hyper. *pr. Lycophr.* col. 15.

κεδονίας, πάντα τἀναντία τούτοις, μὴ προγόνων μεμνῆσθαι,
μὴ τρόπαια λέγειν, μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδενί, μὴ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν
312 Ἑλλήνων βουλεύεσθαι, μόνον οὐ καθελεῖν τὰ τείχη. καίτοι
τούτων αἰσχίους λόγοι οὐδένες πώποτ' ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ
γεγόνασι παρ' ὑμῖν. τίς γάρ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων
οὕτω σκαιὸς καὶ ἀνήκοος ἢ σφόδρα μισῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν
ἡμετέραν, ὅστις, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, εἰπέ μοι, τῆς νῦν οὔσης Ἑλ-
λάδος ταυτησὶ καὶ οἰκουμένης ἔσθ' ὅ τι ταύτην ἂν τὴν προσ-
ηγορίαν εἶχεν ἢ ᾠκεῖθ' ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ
μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σα-
λαμῖνι παρέσχοντο οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι; οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εὖ
οἶδ' ὅτι φήσειεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων
313 ἂν ἐαλωκέναι. εἶθ' οὓς μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηδεὶς ἂν τούτων

§ 312. **οὐδένες**] Cf. § 32 οὐδένας πρέσβεις.

ἀνήκοος] 'unacquainted with our history,' appeal being always made in the Orators to ἀκοή in reference to past events: 23. 66 ὡς ἡμῖν ἀκούειν παραδίδοται: 20. 50 and 68: 22. 13 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦτο ἀκοῇ. Aesch. 1. 141 says 'you talk about Achilles and Patroclus and Homer,' ὡς τῶν μὲν δικαστῶν ἀνηκόων παιδείας ὄντων, ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐσχήμονές τινες προσποιεῖσθε εἶναι καὶ περιφρονοῦντες ἱστορίᾳ τὸν δῆμον: Paus. 1. 3. 2 λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὖσι καὶ ὁπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις.

ἐστιν...μισῶν] 'or so bitterly hostile to,' as supr. 37 ἀναδεχόμενος... ἐστιν: and 294 ταῦτα μέν ἐστι φοβερὰ καὶ προνοίας...δεόμενα.

οἱ Μ.] 'if the heroes of M. and S. our ancestors had not performed those famous feats of valour in their behalf.' With the expression οἱ Μαραθῶνι compare Pl. *Gorg.* 516 D Μιλτιάδην τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐψηφίσαντο 'the hero (victor) of M.' The Μαραθωνομάχοι were, as is well known, the subjects of excessive laudation; Arist. *Nub.* 986; *Eq.* 781, 1331 &c. For the *locative* Μαραθῶνι see Madv. 45 b. So Ἰσθμοῖ, Ἐλευσῖνι, Ἀθμονοῖ (Isae. 6. 23), Προσπαλτοί (id. 11. 44), Πειραιοῖ (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 33). Cobet (*Nov. L.* p. 96) denies that ἐν Μαραθῶνι is ever said by any Greek writer of repute. Cf. however Thuc. 1. 18: Pl. *Gorg.* l.c.: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 104 οἱ γοῦν ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραταξάμενοι. (Bekk. and Schiebe): Ps. D. 13. 22 τὴν ἐν Μ. μάχην (Bekk. st.): but ib. 21 τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι. In 18. 208 good MSS. have ἐν, and in 14. 30 S and other MSS. Schultz from his best MSS. reads ἐν M. in Aesch. 3. 181, 186, 249. Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι is also common enough. Cf. 18. 208: 23. 196: Ps. D. 59. 96 and 97: Aesch. 2. 172; 3. 181.

By οἱ ἡμέτεροι the Orator claims the exclusive glory of the victories at M. and S. for Athens. Cf. Thuc. 1. 73: Dem. 22. 13: Ps. D. 7. 7 ἡ...δύναμις ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἡ ἐλευθερώσασα τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

ἂν ἐαλωκέναι] 'must have been taken,' representing ἂν ἐαλώκει of the *or. recta.*

§ 313. **εἶθ' οὓς**] supr. § 290: 8. 20 εἶθ' ἃ Φίλιππος ἂν εὔξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν: 20. 86. The conclusion which is here left to the hearer, is in the last ex. expressed by the Ora-

τῶν ἐγκωμίων καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀποστερήσειε, τούτων Αἰσχίνης ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐᾷ μεμνῆσθαι, τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἵν' αὐτὸς ἀργύριον λάβῃ; καὶ μὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μέτεστι τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς καλῶς πραχθεῖσιν ἔπαινοι τῶν οὕτω τετελευτηκότων ἴδιον κτῆμα εἰσίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι τηνικαῦτ' ἐναντιοῦται. ὧν ἀποστερῶν ἐκείνους 442
οὗτος αὐτὸς ἂν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας δικαίως νῦν στερηθείη, καὶ ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῶν προγόνων ὑμεῖς δίκην λάβοιτε παρ' αὐτοῦ. τοιούτοις μέντοι λόγοις, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλή, σὺ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα συλήσας καὶ διασύρας τῷ λόγῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματ'
314 ἀπώλεσας. εἶτα γεωργεῖς ἐκ τούτων καὶ σεμνὸς γέγονας. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο. πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὡμολόγει γεγραμματευκέναι καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν ἔχειν τοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι, καὶ μέτριον παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ

tor himself, ἀλλ' ἄλογον. 'Then when no one even of their enemies would think of depriving them of their encomiums and their praises does Ae. forbid you to remember them?'

τῶν ἐγκ. καὶ τῶν ἐ.] Here a mere rhetorical fulness of expression, in which the orator certainly did not intend any such distinction as Aristotle draws in his *Rhet.* I. ch. 9. §§ 33. 34; though even he does not appear always to observe it. Cf. Cope *Introd. to Arist. Rhet.* p. 212 sq.

οἱ δ' ἐπί] Cf. 309 ἐπὶ...γιγνώσκεται: I. 11 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν: Arist. *Rhet.* I. 5. 5 ἐπιφανεῖς...ἐπὶ τοῖς ζηλουμένοις: 'the praises given for glorious achievements are the peculiar property of those who have so died,' i. e. in the performance of glorious deeds; cf. § 92 τοιαῦτα.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος] 18. 315 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις (cf. supr. 228) ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; Hor. 2 *Epp.* I. 12: Thuc. 2. 45 (quoted by Sh.).

στερηθείη] Cf. Veitch, s. v. στερέω.

ταύτην...δίκην] 'this as a punishment:' 'you will do right to inflict this by way of punishment upon him on behalf of your ancestors.' Cf. § 221 ταύτην...σωτηρίαν.

διασύρας] lit. 'to pull to pieces;' whence in a translated sense 'to pull to pieces,' 'to sneer at,' 'depreciate,' as opposed to ἐπαινεῖν. Ps. D. 13. 12 διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπήνεσε: 18. 317 οἱ διέσυρον μὲν τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, and ib. 323: Alexis *Com.* (ap. Athen. 10. 417 E) ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς Βοιώτιοι φαίνησθ' εἶναι τοῖς διασύρειν ὑμᾶς εἰθισμένοις.

τῷ λόγῳ belongs to συλήσας καὶ δ., 'by such speeches however, you wretch, while with your tongue you made havoc of and depreciated the achievements of our fathers, you ruined all our affairs.'

§ 314. **γεωργεῖς**] Supr. § 145: 'so out of all this you are a landowner and have become a great man.'

After **καὶ γάρ** Bekk. st., Dind., and Vöm. omit αὖ with S and *pr.* L: cf. 21. 167 καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο: 4. 11 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, which recurs in 18. 123: Ps. D. 26. 17 καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα.

εἰργάσθαι] Supr. § 280.

χειροτονηθῆναι] Cf. § 98.

μυρία εἴργασται κακά, τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνέσπακε, κἂν "ὁ γεγραμματευκὼς Αἰσχίνης" εἴπῃ τις, ἐχθρὸς εὐθέως καὶ κακῶς φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πορεύεται θοἱμάτιον καθεὶς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν, ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ, τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν, τῶν Φιλίππου ξένων καὶ φίλων εἷς οὗτος ὑμῖν ἤδη, τῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ δήμου βουλομένων καὶ κλύδωνα καὶ μανίαν τὰ καθεστηκότα πράγμαθ' ἡγουμένων, ὁ τέως προσκυνῶν τὴν θόλον.

315 *Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ὃν τρόπον*

μυρία κακά] Infr. 337.

τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνέσπακε] i. e. he has assumed an air of great dignity and importance. Xen. *Symp.* 3. 10 *καὶ ὃς μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπάσας τὸ πρόσωπον*: Alexis *Com.* (Athen. 6. 224) *τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπὰν ἴδω ἀνεσπακότας, δεινὸν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι ποιεῖν, οὐ πάνυ τι θαυμάζω δὲ προτετιμημένους ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως μεῖζόν τι τῶν ἄλλων φρονεῖν.* In Arist. *Eq.* 631 it is done in anger, *κἄβλεψε νᾶπυ καὶ τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνέσπασεν.*

ὁ γ. Ἀ.] 'the ex-clerk Ae.:' *n.* to § 98.

θ. καθείς] 'letting his robe down to his ankles,' as befits a man so *σεμνός*. Ephippus *Com.* (Athen. 8. 347) *σεμνὸς σεμνῶς χλανίδ' ἕλκων*: Hor. *Epod.* 4. 5: Cic. *pr. Cluent.* § 111 (quoted by Sh.) 'Facite enim, ut non solum mores ejus et arrogantiam, sed etiam vultum atque amictum, atque illam usque ad talos demissam purpuram recordamini.' Aesch. exhibits himself thus in the Agora in order to make himself as conspicuous as possible.

ἴσα βαίνων Π.] Of Pythocles it is said above in § 225 that *μετὰ Αἰσχύνου περιέρχεται τὴν ἀγορὰν κύκλῳ καὶ βουλεύεται.* Harpocr. s. v. explains the expression to mean *ἀπὸ τοῦ συνῶν ἀεὶ καὶ μηδὲ βραχὺ ἀφιστάμενος*, referring to Menander *frag. inc.* 228 *παρ' αὐτὸν ἴσα βαινουσ' ἑταιρα πολυτελής*, and Dem. 45. 63 *ἤνικα μὲν συνέβαινεν εὐτυχεῖν Ἀριστολόχῳ τῷ τραπεζίτῃ, ἴσα βαίνων ἐβάδιζεν ὑποπεπτωκὼς ἐκείνῳ.* But the last words *ἐβάδιζεν ὑ. ἐκείνῳ* point to a different meaning, that he like a courtier carefully accommodated his step to his patron's. Tr. here 'walking in step with P.;' the point of the passage being increased, as Sh. observes, if Ae. was of short stature, as the Schol. on 18. 129 says he was. From Athenaeus it would appear that the phrase had been caught up by the literati of his day and used in the sense of 'with a dignified air,' 'in a stately manner,' 5. c. 51 *καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ περιπατητικὸς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ, εὐχαρίστησε... τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.*

ὑμῖν ἤδη] 'one of the friends and intimates of P. for you now-a-days,' or, as K. well tr., 'that's what he is now,' a strange contrast to what he was: Aesch. 3. 73 *ὁ...μισοφίλιππος ὑμὶν οὐτοσὶ ῥήτωρ.*

κλύδωνα] 'one of those who wish to get rid of the people, and regard the established state of things as storm and madness,' repeating what was said in § 135.

τὴν θόλον] Cf. § 249.

§§ 315—331. *Let me now recapitulate to you the way in which Philip outmanoeuvred you by getting these miscreants to help him.*

βούλομαι τοίνυν] A common form of *transition.* Cf. 8. 21: 21. 175: 22. 47: 23. 144 &c.

ἐπ. ἐπὶ κ.] 'to recapitulate.' Aesch. 2. 45 *ἐπὶ κ. τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπηγγείλαμεν*: Hyp. *Fun. Or.* l. 22 *ἐπὶ κ. οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς*: Aesch. 2. 25 *πειράσομαι διὰ κ. ὑμᾶς ὑπομμνήσκειν.*

ὑμᾶς κατεπολιτεύσατο Φίλιππος προσλαβὼν τούτους τοὺς θεοῖς ἐχθρούς. πάνυ δ' ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀπάτην ὅλην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν, διαφορουμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν καὶ κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων ὥστ' ἀνόνητον ἐκεῖνον ἁπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς τὰ φιλάνθρωπα λέγοντας ἐκείνους ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, τὸν Ἀριστόδημον,
316 τὸν Κτησιφῶντα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤλθομεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ 443
πρέσβεις, ἐμισθώσατο μὲν τοῦτον εὐθέως ὅπως συνερεῖ καὶ συναγωνιεῖται τῷ μιαρῷ Φιλοκράτει καὶ τῶν τὰ δίκαια βουλομένων ἡμῶν πράττειν περιέσται, συνέγραψε δ' ἐπι-
317 στολὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς ᾗ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤετο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν. ἣν δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μέγ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' οὕτω πρᾶξαι, εἰ μὴ Φωκέας ἀπολεῖ. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν εὔπορον· συνῆκτο γὰρ

κατεπολιτεύσατο] Cf. 8. 52 δείξας ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται. For the force of κατά comp. καταρρητορευθεὶς Hyper. *c. Dem. fragm.* 10. p. 13 Blass: καταβραβευθέντα Dem. 21. 93: καθυποκρινούμενον infr. 337: Xen. *Symp.* c. 5, § 8 καταδυναστεύῃ.

τὸ...ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] 'at first' 20. 148: τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς 18. 332: supr. 199: τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς 1. 12.

διαφορουμένης] 'as his country was pillaged by the corsairs.' 18. 145 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰσηγεῖτο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ: with which comp. 2. 16 οὔθ' ὅσ' ἂν πορίσωσιν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. This is to a very great extent mere rhetoric. Cf. supr. § 153 *note.*

φιλάνθρωπα] § 39: 'he sent those persons who made such friendly statements about him.' Neoptolemus, who is mentioned with them in § 12, is omitted in § 37 K. καὶ Ἀ. τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην ἔφερον τοῦ φενακισμοῦ. N. is charged in 5. 6 with being an agent of Phil'p, κατιδὼν N. τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα. He is probably meant in 4. 18.

§ 316. **ὡς**] Supr. § 121.

εὐθέως] τὸ εὔκολον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὔωνον δείκνυσι τὸ εὐθέως. Schol.

ὅπως σ.] 'to second and assist' Madv. 123. r. 1.

ὡς ὑμᾶς] 'he composed a letter to you by which he mainly expected he would obtain peace;' ὡς expressing its destination. Comp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 2 2. 9 καὶ ἐκέλευέ με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔγραψα αἰκαδε δοῦναι, and the use of εἰς supr. § 287.

§ 317. **οὐδ' οὕτω**] 'but not a whit the more could he even thus accomplish anything important against you unless he should destroy the Phocians:' 18. 199: 21. 117 χρῆν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως; Lys. 1. 14. So οὐδ' ὡς, καὶ ὡς: Thuc. 1. 44 ἐδόκει ...ὁ...πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

ἀπολεῖ] = εἰ μὴ ἀπολῶ Madv. 132 b.

συνῆκτο] 'had been drawn to such a critical point.' This passage supports the rendering of ὑπῆκτο in § 258.

αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ ἐκ τύχης, εἰς καιρὸν τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἢ μηδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο εἶναι διαπράξασθαι, ἢ ἀνάγκην εἶναι ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ μάρτυρας τῆς αὐτοῦ
318 κακίας πάντας Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους ποιήσασθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ προσδέξαιτο Φωκέας συμμάχους καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ἀποδοίη, τοὺς πρὸς Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους ὅρκους παραβαίνειν εὐθὺς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὧν τοῖς μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεξαιρήσειν ὀμωμόκει, τοῖς δὲ τὴν πυλαίαν συγκαταστήσειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προσδέχοιτο, ὥσπερ οὐ προσίετο, οὐκ ἐάσειν ὑμᾶς παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν εἰς

§ 318. **εἰ προσδέξαιτο...εἰ προσδέχοιτο**] As the question before him was 'should he make the Phocians his allies, yes or no,' nothing turned upon the mere statement of it. The change is purely rhetorical, and is one of an infinite number of exx. in which variety of expression was sought in order to relieve the sentence by avoiding the monotonous recurrence of an unemphatic word or phrase. Though it would be tasteless to say with Sch. that there is no difference of meaning in such cases, it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to preserve the different shades in another language without sacrificing its idiom. A difference there certainly is, though it was not for the sake of it that the expression was changed. In cases such as 20. 87 *σκοπεῖτε καὶ λογίσασθε*, it would be pedantic to insist on translating so as to show the difference of tense. They are to be explained by a principle similar to that which governs the combination of the Aorist and Perfect; § 1 *συνήγαγον note*. But in the passages quoted by Sh. from Thuc. 6. 23 *ὅ,τι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν, παρασκεύῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος ἀσφαλῆς ἐκπλεῦσαι*, and 8. 46 *οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθεροῦν νῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων.. μὴ ἐλευθερῶσαι*, the difference between the Infinitives is essential to the sense. Ἐκπλεῦσαι is an effective Aorist, and Nicias says 'I want to leave as little room for chance as possible, and to arrive at the scene of the war secure from failure;' while *ἐλευθερῶσαι* is used in a future sense after *εἰκός* (Madv. 172 a. r.) and the sentence might be expressed in a form common in Demosthenes: Εἶτα Λ. *ἀπὸ μὲν...ἐλευθεροῦσιν...ἀπὸ δ'...οὐκ (ἄρα) ἐλευθερώσουσιν*; Cf. on 20. 123. Tr. 'for should he accept the P. as allies...it became necessary (Madv. 135 c. r. 1. b) at once...but were he to refuse to accept them,' = *εἰ προσδέξομαι... ἐὰν προσδέχωμαι* of the *or. recta*. Madv. 132.

τὴν Β.] 'that he would assist them in subjugating B.' Cf. supr. 141: 5. 21: 8. 65.

τὴν πυλαίαν] 'and assist the others (the Thessalians) in restoring the Pylian congress,' which had not met since the seizure of the Temple at Delphi by Philomelus B.C. 356. Grote 11. 588. Cf. 5. 23 *τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς...κύριοι γενέσθαι*: 8. 65: 6. 22 *τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα*.

ὥσπερ οὐ προ.] 'as in fact he did not admit them;' a rhetorical turn common after conditional and concessive sentences, in confirmation of the statement made: 8. 75 *εἰ ὁ Τιμόθεος εἶπεν ὡς οἷόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν*: 15. 13: Antiph. 3. γ. 5: Dein. 1. 47 *εἴπερ ἔστι...ὥσπερ ἔστι*: Pl. *Phaedr.* 242 E. Cic. *pr. R. Am.* § 22: 2 *Phil.* § 68.

Πύλας, ὅπερ, εἰ μὴ παρεκρούσθητ', ἐποιήσατ' ἄν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο
319 γένοιτο, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι παρελθεῖν ἐλογίζετο. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ
παρ' ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἔδει πυθέσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε μάρτυς
ἑαυτῷ τοῦ πράγματος· ὅτε γὰρ Φωκέας ἐκράτησε τὸ πρῶτον
καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ
στρατηγοῦντα Ὀνόμαρχον, τότε τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάν-
των οὐδενός, οὔτε Ἕλληνος οὔτε βαρβάρου, Φωκεῦσι βοηθή-
σαντος πλὴν ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὅπως παρῆλθεν ἢ διεπράξαθ' ὧν 444
ἠβουλήθη τι παρελθών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσελθεῖν ἐγγὺς ἠδυ-
320 νήθη. ᾔδει δὴ σαφῶς οἶμαι τοῦθ', ὅτι νῦν, ἡνίκ' ἐστασίαζε
μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ Θετταλῶν, καὶ Φεραῖοι πρῶτον οὐ συνηκολού-
θουν, ἐκρατοῦντο δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μάχην ἥττηντο καὶ τρό-
παιον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἱστήκει, οὐκ ἔνεστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ βοη-
θήσεθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδ', ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ, χαιρήσειν, εἰ μή τις τέχνη
προσγενήσεται. πῶς οὖν μήτε ψεύσομαι φανερῶς, μήτ'

§ 319. **παρελθεῖν**] 'pass the Straits:' cf. § 63.

ὅτε γάρ] He alludes to this in § 84 (*note*).

τὸν ἡ. καὶ στρ.] 'their chief and general,' the latter word defining the former. Cf. *n.* to § 90.

οὐχ ὅπως] 'So far from passing the Straits, or accomplishing any of his objects by passing them, he was not able even to approach them.'

§ 320. **τὰ Θ.**] 'when the Th. were quarrelling with him:' see *n.* to 6. 22. *νῦν* of course refers to the time of his soliloquy.

Φ. πρῶτον] 'the Ph., for example, declined to accompany him,' at the instance most likely of the party which supported the Tyrants and afterwards succeeded in bringing about a revolution. This was followed by Philip occupying Pherae with a garrison: supr. § 260: Thirl. 6. 13. For *πρῶτον* cf. 18. 236 *οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον*: 20. 106 *αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιήσουσιν*, followed by *εἶτα καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι...*; and compare the use of *αὐτίκα* and *εὐθύς*: Andoc. 1. 4 *αὐτίκα ἐγώ...*: Pl. *Laches* 195 B *ἐπεὶ αὐτίκα*: Arist. *Vesp.* 1190. Xen. *Hiero* c. 2. § 8 *εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις...*: ib. c. 1. § 25.

Θηβαῖοι] Cf. supr. § 148.

ἀπ' αὐτῶν] 'won from them,' 'over them:' 20. 78 *οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐχθρῶν τρόπαιον οὐδὲν ἀφ' ὑμῶν κἀκεινοῦ, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν πολλά.*

χαιρήσειν] Bekk. st. and Vöm. read *χαίρειν* with S. But this does not suit this passage; for what are we to make of the Greek *οὐδ', ἂν ἐπιχειρῷ, χαίρω, εἰ μή τις τ. προσγενήσεται*? and is contrary to the nature of the phrase which, as Sh. observes, requires either *χαιρήσω* or *ποιήσω χαιρών*. L. and S., who quote § 299 as an ex. of the present so used, mistake the sense of that passage. With *χαιρήσειν* there is a sudden change to the or. obl. 'it was not possible to pass the Straits, if you sent troops, nor, should he make the attempt, would he do so with impunity, unless he helped himself by some artifice.'

ψεύσομαι] S, L: Bekk. st., Sh.: *ψεύσωμαι* Υ, Ω, Dind., who also has with Ω *διαπράξωμαι*. This use of the Future is beyond suspicion. Madv. 121. r. Antiph. 1. 4 *πρὸς τίνας οὖν*

ἐπιορκεῖν δόξας πάνθ' ἃ βούλομαι διαπράξομαι; πῶς; οὕτως, ἂν Ἀθηναίων τινὰς εὕρω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξαπατήσοντας· ταύτης γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ τῆς αἰσχύνης κληρονομῶ.
321 ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις προὔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι Φωκέας οὐ προσδέχεται Φίλιππος συμμάχους, οὗτοι δ' ἐκδεχόμενοι τοιαῦτ' ἐδημηγόρουν, ὡς φανερῶς μὲν οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσδέξασθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμμάχους διὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλούς, ἂν δὲ γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τύχῃ, ἅπερ ἂν συνθέσθαι
322 νῦν ἀξιώσαιμεν αὐτόν, ταῦτα ποιήσει τότε. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγωγαῖς εὕρετο παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνευ Φωκέων· τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ἔδει κωλῦσαι τὴν εἰς τὰς Πύλας, ἐφ' ἣν αἱ πεντήκοντα τριήρεις ὅμως ἐφώρμουν,

ἔλθῃ τις βοηθούς, ἢ ποῖ τὴν καταφυγὴν ποιήσεται. Tr. 'How then shall I escape telling an open falsehood and effect all my objects without subjecting myself to the charge of perjury? How? In this way; if I can find...' τούς belongs to the participle: cf. § 116 τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους...τινάς.

οὐκέτ'] As § 71: 18. 33 μισθοῦται...τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων 'not as before:' ib. 79 τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν. Cic. *De Fin.* 2 § 30 'quae *jam* oratio non a philosopho aliquo sed a censore reprimenda est.'

§ 321. For προσδέχεται and ἔχει see Madv. 130 b.

ἐκδεχόμενοι] Cf. 37 ἐκδέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν, and 97.

τοιαῦτ'...ὡς] 'to the effect that.' See §§ 121, 124: 6. 30: Aesch. 2. 136, 178.

§ 322. ἐπαγωγαῖς] 'by such (§ 14 ταύτην...τὴν εἰρήνην) hopes and allurements he obtained peace from you.' The vulgate ὑπαγωγαῖς appears natural enough from the frequent use of ὑπάγω in the sense of 'to lead on with art or deceit,' but it does not seem to occur in this sense in any good author. Cf. 5. 10 τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμούς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες...προεῖσθε Φωκέας; 3. 31.

εὕρετο] F, Sh., Bekk.: εὕροιτο S, L, Bekk. st., Dind., Vöm.; an evident correction, induced by the preceding οὗτοι. Clearly the orator refers to Philip only; cf. supr. ἃ βούλομαι διαπράξομαι: and it would be very harsh after εὕροιτο in the statement about the accomplishment of one of Philip's objects, to pass so abruptly in ἔδει... to Philip again as soliloquizing. I therefore follow Sh. and Bekk.

ἔδει] 'but he had next to prevent you from sending troops to Pylae.'

αἱ.....τριήρεις] See on § 72. Aesch. 2. 37 represents Dem. as expostulating with him on the high tone he had assumed in speaking to Philip, ἤρετό με, εἰ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πραγμάτων ἐπιλέλησμαι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταπεπονημένον καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς εἰρήνης εἰ μὴ μέμνημαι. Ἢ μέγα φρονεῖς, ἔφη, ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν πεντήκοντα ναυσίν, οὐδέποτε δὲ πληρωθησομέναις. This agrees with 18. 26. Considering the effect likely to be produced by Proxenus' despatch reporting the refusal to put him in possession of the towns, and the treatment of the sacred envoys, which arrived on the day they decided to send ambassadors to Philip, it is highly probable that D.'s ὅμως ἐφώρμουν is an exaggeration.

ὅμως] i. e. notwithstanding the conclusion of peace.

323 ἵν', εἰ πορεύοιτο Φίλιππος, κωλύοιθ' ὑμεῖς. πῶς οὖν; τίς τέχνη αὖ γενήσεται περὶ ταύτης; τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ἀγαγόντας ἄφνω, ἵνα 445
μηδ' ἂν βούλησθε δύνησθε ἐξελθεῖν. οὐκοῦν τοῦθ' οὗτοι πράττοντες φαίνονται, ἐγὼ δ', ὥσπερ ἀκηκόατ' ἤδη πολλάκις, οὐχὶ δυνηθεὶς προσπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισθωσάμενος πλοῖον
324 κατακωλυθεὶς ἐκπλεῦσαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ πιστεῦσαι Φωκέας ἔδει Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἑκόντας ἐνδοῦναι, ἵνα μηδεὶς χρόνος ἐγγένηται τοῖς πράγμασι μηδ' ἐναντίον ἔλθῃ ψήφισμα παρ' ὑμῶν μηδέν. οὐκοῦν ὡς μὲν οἱ Φωκεῖς σωθήσονται, παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεων ἀπαγγελθήσεται, ἄστε καὶ εἴ τις ἐμοὶ διαπιστεῖ, τούτοις πιστεύσας αὐτὸν ἐγχειριεῖ· τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὺς μεταπεμψόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἵνα πάνθ', ὅσα ἂν βούλωνται, νομίσαντες ὑπάρχειν σφίσι μηδὲν ἐναντίον ψηφίσωνται· οὗτοι δὲ τοιαῦτ' ἀπαγγελοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπο-

§ 323. **ἐπιστῆσαι**] 'How then (is it to be managed)? What artifice again shall be employed about this? That they (his agents) should deprive you of your opportunities of action and suddenly bring matters upon you.' Cf. § 34 sq. Sh. translates, 'and all of a sudden bring affairs and place P. at their head.' But in order to tr. so ought we not to have had *τοῖς πράγμασιν* (§ 34) *ἀγαγόντας*? The passages he quotes for *ἀγαγόντας* (9. 57 *οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον*, and 18. 151) do not seem to support his view. *Ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα*, 6. 5, amply justifies *ἐπιστῆσαι τὰ πρ.* here. The reason why it was to be done *ἄφνω* is given in the same words in § 178. Cf. also § 34.

τοῦθ'...πράττοντες] 'Well then they made this their business, it appears.' Pl. *Crit.* 47 B *ἀνὴρ γυμναζόμενος καὶ ταῦτα πράττων*, of a professional athlete, which Herod. 6. 105 expresses by *ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ ταῦτα μελετῶντα*: 32. 24 *πράττοντες μὲν...καὶ ἐξαρχῆς τοῦτο* 'they had been working for,' 'trying that from the first.' In the passive 8. 13 *πράττεται δὲ καὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτο.*

δυνηθεὶς] Sc. *φαίνομαι* out of *φαίνονται.*

κατακωλυθεὶς] Cf. § 51.

§ 324. **ἵνα...ἔλθῃ**] *n.* to § 77.

ψήφισμα] 'that no delay might occur in the execution of his designs and no hostile decree come from you:' cf. § 51.

οὐκοῦν] 'Well then it shall be reported by (§ 49) the A. ambassadors that the Ph. are to be saved, so that even such (i. e. of the Phocians) as distrust me will through belief in them put themselves into my hands.' See § 53 sq. and 63.

αὐτούς] 'themselves,' as he did by his letters which Dem. criticises in § 51 sq.

ὑπάρχειν] 'to be ready for them,' 'to be secured,' § 61. This he expresses in § 51 by *ἃ ἐβούλεσθε οἰόμενοι πράξειν αὐτόν.*

μηδ' ἄν...] 'that under no circumstances will they be led to stir:' § 6 *οὐδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ποιῇ*: 9. 68 *μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι.* Similarly 18. 168 *οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο*: 9. 8. Cf. 8. 37 *οὐδὲν μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε.*

325 σχήσονται ἐξ ὧν μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ κινηθήσονται. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοιαύταις τέχναις ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένων ἀνθρώπων πάντα τὰ πράγματ' ἀπώλετο. καὶ γάρ τοι παραχρῆμα ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἰδεῖν οἰκιζομένας Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν ἠκούσατε ἠνδραποδισμένας, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰς Θήβας ταπεινὰς γενέσθαι καὶ περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὸ φρόνημ' αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων Φωκέων τείχη κατεσκάπτετο. Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, οἱ διοικισθέντες ὑπ'
326 Αἰσχίνου τῷ λόγῳ. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν παραδοθῆναι ὁρμητήρια ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Φίλιππος προσκατασκευάζεται καὶ Γεραιστῷ καὶ Μεγάροις 446
ἐπιβουλεύων διατελεῖ. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδοθῆναι περὶ Δρυμοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτῳ χώρας μεθ'

§ 325. **ὑπὸ τούτων**] Bekk. st., Dind. and Vöm. omit *τούτων* with S, L, Υ. It seems to have dropped out through the influence of the following *τῶν*, as *τοιαῦτ'* in § 310 after *τοὺς τοῦ*, where Vöm. rightly says 'pronomine carere locus non potest.' Rhetoric requires it here. Cf. §§ 61...66, in which we have several emphatic *διὰ τούτους*.

Θεσπιὰς...] Cf. § 21.

Ὀ. καὶ Κ.] Cf. §§ 112, 141.

Θ. ταπεινάς] 'being humbled and stripped of her insolence and pride:' §§ 42, 112 and 220. On *περιαιρεθῆναι* Sch. remarks 'vox hoc loco lectissima; quippe congener ejus est *κατεσκάπτετο, οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιῃρημένα* § 65:' cf. *n.* to 220.

τείχη κ.] Paus. 10. 3. 2 *καὶ ἐς ἔδαφος ἀλοῦσαι κατεβλήθησαν τῶν Φωκέων αἱ πόλεις...καὶ ἐς κώμας πλὴν Ἄβας ᾠκίσθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι.* Cf. supr. §§ 81, 141: 18. 36 and 42: Aesch. 3. 80 *Φίλιππος...τὰς ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους* (*n.* to § 39) *ἐποίησεν*: Aesch. 2. 9 *ἀνῃρηκέναι... τὰς ἐν Φ. πόλεις.*

δ...τῷ λόγῳ] 'who by Ae. in his speech were scattered (broken up into villages:' supr. 81. Comp. Isocr. 5. 75 *ταῦτα...φάσκοντες ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως ἅπαντα τῷ λόγῳ καταστρεφόμενοι πολλοὺς πείθουσι.*

§ 326. **ὁρμητήρια**] 'sallyports,' 'places to attack you from.' Thuc. 1. 90 *τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ πόθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὁρμᾶσθαι*: 23. 181 *ἔχει δ' ὁρμητήριον ... τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν*: supr. 219. What is meant is clear from 8. 36 *δύο ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτειχίσας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Σκιαθῷ*: ib. 66: 9. 17, 27, 57 sq.: Ps. D. 10. 8.

προσκατασκευάζεται] 'is establishing besides,' 'is even establishing.' So § 112 *προσεξηνδραπόδισται. Geraestus* was of great importance to Athens, as the corn ships from the Euxine touched there. 4. 34. Grote 10. 176: Thirl. 5. 38.

Μεγάροις] Cf. §§ 295, 334.

Δρυμοῦ] Harpocr. s.v. *πόλις μεταξὺ Βοιωτίας καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.* The speech against Conon, written in the year of the *De F. Legatione*, arose out of an affair which took place when the parties were in garrison at Panaetus. 54. 3 *ἐξήλθομεν ἔτος τουτὶ τρίτον εἰς Πάνακτον, φρουρᾶς ἡμῖν προγραφείσης.* Thirl. 6. 16.

ὅπλων ἐξερχόμεθα, ὅ, ἕως ἦσαν Φωκεῖς σῷοι, οὐδὲ πώποτ'
327 ἐποιήσαμεν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰ πάτρια ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατασταθῆναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰσπραχθῆναι τῷ θεῷ οἱ μὲν ὄντες Ἀμφικτύονες φεύγουσι καὶ ἐξελήλανται, καὶ ἀνάστατος αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα γέγονεν, οἱ δ' οὐπώποτ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ γενόμενοι, Μακεδόνες καὶ βαρβαροι, νῦν Ἀμφικτύονες εἶναι βιάζονται· ἐὰν δέ τις περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων μνησθῇ, κατακρημνίζεται, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὴν προμαντείαν ἀφῄρηται.
328 καὶ γέγονε τὰ πράγματα πάνθ' ὥσπερ αἴνιγμα τῇ πόλει. ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔψευσται καὶ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἠβουλήθη διαπέπρακται, ὑμεῖς δ' ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἂν ἐλπίσαντες τἀναντία τούτων ἑωράκατε γιγνόμενα, καὶ δοκεῖτε μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, πεπόνθατε δὲ δεινότερα ἢ πολεμοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ χρήματ' ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας δίκην οὐ δεδώκασιν.
329 ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' ἁπλῶς δεδωροδόκηνται καὶ τιμὴν ἔχουσιν

ἕως Sh.; and so Dind. here and elsewhere: τέως Bekk. st., Sh. 1st ed.: cf. *n.* to 2. 21.

σῷοι] Cf. supr. § 58.

§ 327. κατασταθῆναι] 'And instead of the national rites in the Temple being restored and his treasure recovered for the God,' as Aeschines had promised; supr. § 21. For this sense of κατασταθῆναι Sh. compares Soph. *El.* 72 καταστάτην δόμων, and *Agam.* 23.

οἱ μὲν ὄντες] 'the genuine A.' i.e. the Phocians, who had been members from time immemorial.

ἀνάστατος] Cf. § 39, and the passages quoted on § 325.

βιάζονται] *n.* to § 328: Arist. *Aves*, 32 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀστὸς εἰσβιάζεται: Lys. 9. 16 βιαζόμενοι βλάπτειν: Dem. 20. 144: Ps. D. 25. 23 and 38 βιάζεται λέγειν: 26. 5: Ps. D. 59. 28 τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν προσήκοντας βιάζεται Ἀθηναίους εἶναι. Tr. 'are forcing themselves into the Council as members.' Compare the contemptuous language in 5. 14 τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι. The place and two votes left vacant by the dispossession of the Phocians were given to Philip. Grote 11. 588.

τὴν προμαντείαν] 'her right of first consulting the Oracle,' 'right of pre-audience.' Cf. *Gr. and R. Ant.* s.v. *Oraculum*. 9. 32 ἔχει δὲ (Philip) τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πᾶσι μέτεστι.

§ 328. διαπέπρακται] active, 'has accomplished:' cf. § 4.

εὔξαισθ' ἄν] 'all you could wish,' perhaps with reference to the promises of Philip's agents, Φίλιππος δ' ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει 6. 30. The phrase however is common; cf. 20. 55. With the following words compare 9. 15 sq.

ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'for this,' i. e. for bringing this about.

τῆς τ. ἡμέρας] Supr. 297. Though Dem. throughout charges the Envoys as a body with complicity in the treachery of Aeschines it does not appear that proceedings were taken by his party against any of them but Philocrates, who was at this time in exile, § 118.

§ 329. δεδωροδόκηνται] S. J vulg.: δεδωροδόκηται ('haec largitionibus facta sunt') Vöm. wit' infe-

ἁπάντων τούτων οὗτοι, πολλαχόθεν μὲν ἔγωγ' οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν εἶναι πάλαι, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ τοὐναντίον οὗ βούλομαι ποιῶ, σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς δεικνύναι πειρώμενος, διοχλῶ πάλαι τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας· ὅμως δ' ἔτι καὶ τόδ' ἀκούσατε.
330 ἔστιν ὄντιν' ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῶν πρέσβεων ὧν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος χαλκοῦν στήσαιτ' ἂν ἐν ἀγορᾷ; τί δέ; δοίητ' ἂν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δωρεάν, αἷς τιμᾶτε τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. διὰ τί; οὔτε 447
γὰρ ὑμεῖς γε ἀχάριστοί ἐστε οὔτ' ἄδικοι ἄνθρωποι οὔτε κακοί. ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραξαν, εἴποιτ' ἄν, καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια. εἶτ' οἴεσθε ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτω γιγνώσκειν, τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχ οὕτως,
331 ἀλλὰ τούτοις διδόναι τηλικαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας δωρεὰς διότι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπρέσβευσαν; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. τὸν γὰρ Ἡγήσιππον ὁρᾶτε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις

rior MSS., in accordance with the view of Cobet (*Nov. L.*, p. 502), who maintains that δεδωροδόκηνται is due to the copyists, who were familiar with the later use of δωροδοκῶ in the sense of 'to bribe,' as Diod. Sic. 16. 33 μάλιστα τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐδωροδόκει. He is wrong however in saying that the sense here required rests on this passage only, as Sh. shows by quoting Arist. *Pol.* 2. 6. 18 καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν, which supports Arist. *Ranae* 361 καταδωροδοκεῖται 'lets himself be bribed.' Tr. 'for that these men have been bribed outright to do this.' But I cannot help thinking that the positions of ταῦθ' and ἁπλῶς agree better with Vömel's reading.

τιμήν] 'the price.'

The words διοχλῶ πάλαι prove that ποιῶ here is in the indicative, 'I am afraid I am doing,' the object of the fear being regarded as present and certain. The subj. would have put it as future and probable, 'I am afraid lest,' 'I am afraid I shall find I am doing.' Cf. supr. § 3. Tr. 'I am afraid I am doing the reverse of what I desire. I am afraid I have been wearying you all this time by my attempt to prove to demonstration what you know yourselves.'

§ 330. χαλκοῦν στήσαιτ' ἄν] i.e. as a great benefactor: cf. § 261.

ἐν πρ. σίτησιν] Pl. *Apol.* 36 D: *Gr. and R. Ant.* s.v. πρυτανεῖον. 20. 107 στέφανοι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ὧν ἂν τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν τύχοι at Athens: 23. 130 χαλκῆς εἰκόνος...καὶ σιτήσεως ἐν πρυτανείῳ καὶ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν ἄλλων.

εἶτ'] *n.* to § 290: 9. 13: 'Then do you think that when your sentiments are such, P.'s are different, and that he bestows upon them presents of such amount and value because they performed their duty as ambassadors well and faithfully for you? Impossible!' For the embassy of Hegesippus, now acknowledged to be the author of the speech *de Halonneso*, see Grote 11. 616: Thirl. 6. 20.

§ 331. τὸν Ἡ. ὁρᾶτε...πῶς] *n.* to § 285: 23. 37 τουτονὶ δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς... τὸν νόμον τί ποτ' ἐβούλεθ' ὁ θείς, where Sch. wrongly in point of grammar takes τὸν ν. with ὁ θείς: Arist. *Nub.* 1185 οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸν νόμον ἴσασιν ὀρθῶς ὅ, τι νοεῖ; supr. § 48 ὁρᾶτε... τὸ ψήφισμα ὅσων...; § 39 *init.*

πῶς ἐδέξατο. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ Ξενοκλείδην τουτονὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐξεκήρυξεν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο πολίτας ὄντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσι δικαίως ὅσ' ἂν φρονῶσι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται, τοῖς δὲ πεπρακόσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς τούτοις. ταῦτ' οὖν μαρτύρων, ταῦτ' ἐλέγχων τινῶν ἔτι δεῖται μειζόνων; ταῦτ' ἀφαιρήσεταί τις ὑμῶν;

332 Εἶπε τοίνυν μοί τις ἄρτι προσελθὼν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου πρᾶγμα καινότατον πάντων, Χάρητος κατηγορεῖν αὐτὸν παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐξαπατήσειν ὑμᾶς ἐλπίζειν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν πάντα τρόπον κρινόμενος Χάρης εὕρηται πιστῶς καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς, ὅσον

τὰ μὲν...ἀλλά] *n.* to § 182. From Ps. D. 59. 26, 28 we learn that Xenoclides was convicted of ἀστρατεία and disfranchised for not going out among the troops sent at the instance of Callistratus to help the Spartans after Epaminondas' first invasion of the Peloponnese. (Grote 10. 322.) The attack upon him may have been prompted by his opposition to Callistratus on that occasion, and, according to the author of that speech, was certainly unjust, as he enjoyed exemption from military service in virtue of his being a farmer of taxes (ἐωνημένος τὴν πεντηκοστὴν τοῦ σίτου).

τουτονί] *n.* to 75: 'our poet X.'

τινῶν Bekk. st.: Vöm.: Dind.: *τίνων...τίς* Sh. But the double interrogation is out of place here. The emphasis falls on *ταῦτ'* and *ἔτι μειζόνων*. 'Does this then require witnesses? Are still stronger proofs required for this?' 'Etiamne in tam perspicuis rebus argumentatio quaerenda aut conjectura capienda est?' Cic. *pr. Sex. Roscio*, § 98.

'§§ 332—336. *I am told that he will try to impose on you by accusing Chares. But even admitting that Chares is all he will say, this is quite beside the question. I do not charge Aeschines with anything that happened in the war or with our having concluded peace. My charges are that he supported Philocrates, took bribes, wasted the times of action, neglected your instructions and ruined everything by the delusive hopes and promises he held out. Chares and your generals had nothing to do with the destruction of Phocis or the losses you incurred through the peace. Do not let him impose on you but force him to his defence upon the charges I have brought.*

εἶπε τοίνυν] Compare 20. 105, and 21. 36 *ἀπήγγελλε τοίνυν τίς μοι...* 'A person came up to me just now before the court opened:' cf. 21. 4 quoted on § 1.

διὰ τούτου...] 'by such a line of defence and such arguments:' cf. § 14 *note.*

εὕρηται S, Φ, Bekk. st., Sh. &c.: *εὑρεθήσεται* L and some other MSS.: *εὑρήσεται* vulg. 'Now I do not strenuously maintain that Chares howsoever brought to trial has been found to have acted faithfully and loyally, as far as lay in his power, for your interests, though he has failed in many things through those who for money ruin everything.' 'I do not assert that Chares is immaculate: nay I will even allow he is all Ae. says: still that is beside the question between us.' In his public speeches Dem. often points out to the people that they were mainly answerable for the shortcomings of their generals by their refusal to serve or supply pay for the hired

ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι λυμαινομένους τοῖς πράγμασι πολλῶν ὑστερῶν, οὐ σφόδρα ἰσχυρίζομαι. ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν ποιήσομαι· ἔστω γὰρ πάντα τἀληθῆ λέξειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τουτονί. καὶ οὕτω τοίνυν κομιδῇ
333 γέλως ἐστὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐκείνου τουτονί. ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχίνην 448
οὐδενὸς αἰτιῶμαι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πραχθέντων (τούτων γάρ εἰσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὑπεύθυνοι) οὐδὲ τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τούτου πάντ' ἀφίημι. τί οὖν λέγω καὶ πόθεν ἄρχομαι κατηγορεῖν; τοῦ ποιουμένης τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνην Φιλοκράτει συνειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς τὰ βέλτιστα γράφουσι, καὶ τοῦ δῶρα εἰληφέναι, τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ὑστέρας πρεσβείας τοὺς χρόνους κατατρῖψαι καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσετάξαθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοῦ φενακίσαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παραστήσαντα ἐλπίδας, ὡς ὅσα βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς Φίλιππος πράξει, πάντ' ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῦ μετὰ ταῦθ', ἑτέρων προλεγόντων φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τοσαῦτα ἠδικηκότα, τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ
334 συνηγορεῖν. ταῦτα κατηγορῶ, ταῦτα μέμνησθε, ἐπεὶ δικαίαν εἰρήνην καὶ ἴσην καὶ μηδὲν πεπρακότας ἀνθρώπους μηδὲ ψευσαμένους ὕστερον κἂν ἐπῄνουν καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐκέλευον.

troops and yet were disposed to punish them for their unavoidable failures. Cf. 2. 27, 28: 4. 24 (where Chares is specially referred to): 8. 7 sq. Aesch. 2. 71 *ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς Χάρητος οἱ κατήγοροι δεικνύουσι*: Dem. 4. 47 *note:* Ps. D. 13. 5 *ἵν' ὑμῖν...μὴ τοιαῦτα οἷάπερ νυνὶ συμβαίνῃ, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κρίνετε, καὶ περίεσθ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖνα εἰσήγγειλεν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν.* According to Arist. *Rhet.* 1. c. 15 and 3. c. 10, Chares was accused on two different occasions by Eubulus and Cephisodotus.

ὑπερβολὴν π.] Sh. refers to 18. 190 *ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι ὥστε...ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ*; cf. 21. 46 *καὶ τοσαύτῃ γ' ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῇ.* 'Nay I will go as far as this; let it be granted that...'

καὶ οὕτω] Supr. 317 *οὐδ' οὕτω*: 'Well, even then it is perfect mockery for him to accuse Chares.' Comp. the argument in § 91.

§ 333. **ἀφίημι**] sc. *αὐτῷ* 'I entirely acquit him;' § 101 *ἄφετ' Αἰσχίνῃ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα.*

πόθεν ἄρχομαι...] recapitulating his argument in § 94.

τοῦ] i. e. *ἀπὸ* (from *πόθεν*) *τοῦ.* 'From what then do I begin my charges? From his speaking in support of Ph.'

παραστήσαντα ἐλπίδας] 21. 72 *οὐ γὰρ ἡ πληγὴ παρέστησε τὴν ὀργήν*: 23. 103 *ψήφισμα...φόβον καὶ δέος μή τιν' αἰτίαν ἔχωσι παριστάν.* 'And by leading you to entertain hopes that P. would do all we wished of having ruined everything.'

συνηγορεῖν] On the occasion mentioned in § 111 sq.

§ 334. **ταῦτα κατηγορῶ**] *n.* to § 9.

ἐπῄνουν καὶ στ. of course refer specially to *ἀνθρώπους.* Cf. *n.* to 9. 72. Here their strict inappropriateness to *εἰρήνην* is not very noticeable, as the double description that fol-

στρατηγὸς δ' εἴ τις ἠδίκηχ' ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ κοινωνεῖ ταῖς νῦν εὐθύναις. ποῖος γὰρ στρατηγὸς Ἅλον, τίς δὲ Φωκέας ἀπολώλεκεν; τίς δὲ Δορίσκον, τίς δὲ Κερσοβλέπτην, τίς δὲ Ἱερὸν ὄρος, τίς δὲ Πύλας; τίς δὲ πεποίηκεν ἄχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν διὰ συμμάχων καὶ φίλων εἶναι Φιλίππῳ; τίς δὲ Κορώνειαν, τίς δ' Ὀρχομενόν, τίς δ' Εὔβοιαν ἀλλοτρίαν;
335 τίς Μέγαρα πρῴην ὀλίγου; τίς Θηβαίους ἰσχυρούς; τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ὄντων διὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπώλετο, οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ συγχωρηθὲν πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἔχει Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτους ἀπόλωλε καὶ τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν. ἂν τοίνυν ταῦτα μὲν φεύγῃ, πλανᾷ δὲ καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον λέγῃ, ἐκείνως αὐτὸν δέχεσθε. "οὐ 449
στρατηγῷ δικάζομεν, οὐ περὶ τούτων κρίνῃ. μὴ λέγε εἴ τις αἴτιός ἐστι καὶ ἄλλος τοῦ Φωκέων ὀλέθρου, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐ σὺ αἴτιος δεῖξον. τί οὖν, εἴ τι Δημοσθένης ἠδίκει, νῦν λέγεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου κατηγόρεις; δι' αὐτὸ
336 γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος. μὴ λέγε ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνη,

lows brings the latter point more specially into view. 'For a just and fair peace, and men who had sold nothing and had not afterwards told lies, I would even have commended, and urged you to vote them crowns.'

κοινωνεῖ] 'it has no connection with.' Pl. *Phaedr.* 67 A ὅταν μηδὲν ὁμιλῶμεν τῷ σώματι μηδὲ κοινωνῶμεν: Pl. *Soph.* 253 A ὁποῖα ὁποίοις δυνατὰ κοινωνεῖν. Hyper. *pr. Eux.* col. 19 ὧν οὐδεμία δήπου τῶν αἰτιῶν τούτων οὐδὲν κοινωνεῖ τῷ εἰσαγγελτικῷ νόμῳ.

ποῖος]. 'vellem codex daret τις' Sch. But see § 282: 21. 41: 23. 214: Aesch. 3. 24 ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

ἄχρι τῆς Ἀ.] 6. 35: supr. 180.

ὀλίγου] sc. ἀλλότρια πεποίηκεν: 'who the other day Megara (§ 326) nearly!' Madv. 57 a. n. Euboea had been alienated and lost in the t mentioned, § 326.

οὐδ'] 'none does P. hold to him in the peace with ent.'

...καὶ τὴν τ.] Cf. 21. 20 καταδείσαντες τοῦτον καὶ τὸ τούτου θράσος: ib. 96 ὑπὸ Μειδίου καὶ τοῦ Μειδίου πλούτου καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας: 1. 3 *note.*

πλανᾷ] 'if he shirks these topics and tries to lead you astray and talks of anything rather than them.' Similar warnings are often addressed to the jury. 22. 34 ἄν τι φενακίζειν ἐγχειρῇ καὶ παράγειν οὗτος: 23. 95, 191, 219: ib. 215 ἂν παράγειν καὶ φενακίζειν οὗτοι ζητῶσιν: 40. 21 ψευδόμενος δὲ καὶ παραγωγὰς λέγων: 46. 2.

στρ. δικάζομεν] 'sit as judges for a general,' 'sit in judgment on a general.' 43. 5 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδίκασεν, ὅτι...: 48. 8 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδίκασα τούτῳ καὶ οὗτος ἐμοί; 21. 18 τοὺς κριτὰς τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. He is here repeating what he had said in § 92 sq.

§ 336. **ἀπολωλέναι**] 'Why for that very reason you have deserved to perish,' i.e. for not coming forward to let us know the criminality of Dem. when he might have been punished. Sch. takes ἀπολωλέναι

μηδ' ὡς συμφέρον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αἰτιᾶταί σε τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἐπονείδιστος, καὶ πολλὰ ὕστερον ἐξηπατήμεθα, καὶ πάντ' ἀπώλετο, ταῦτα λέγε· τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος σὺ δέδειξαι, καὶ τί δὴ μέχρι νυνὶ τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα ἐπαινεῖς;" ἂν οὕτω φυλάττητε αὐτόν, οὐχ ἕξει τί λέγῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθ' ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς ἔσται.

337 Καίτοι καὶ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη· πάνυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἀκούω, ὡς καθυποκρινούμενον ὑμᾶς. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖτε ἀτοπώτατον ἁπάντων ἂν ποιῆσαι, εἰ ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεά-

literally, as if such silence was really a capital crime. It is merely rhetorical, and means no more than 'to be severely punished,' 'to be condemned' or the like: cf. § 103.

ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνη] Cf. §§ 88, 93.

αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἐπ.] Cf. § 97: 'but that it is not a disgraceful and ignominious peace—that we have not been deceived in many ways and everything was not lost after it—this is what you must tell us!' Cobet (*Nov. Lect.* p. 690), objecting to the omission of **ὧν** with **αἴτιος...δέδειξαι**, reads **ἁπάντων ὧν**. But cf. supr. § 200.

ἐπαινεῖς] See Aesch. 1. 169.

τί λέγῃ] Madv. 121.

τὴν ἄλλως] Cf. 181: 'he will raise his voice here and have practised it in vain.'

For **πεφωνασκηκώς** see § 255.

§§ 337—340. *It would be a gross absurdity if after hissing him in the days when he was a player you were now to let him seduce you by his fine voice. Such considerations might weigh with you in choosing a herald; but in judging of an ambassador you should ask whether he was honest and loyal; and this Ae. was not. To hear him therefore with favour is to put a dangerous power into the hands of villainy.*

§ 337. From his remarks here and elsewhere (18. 261, 285 **καίπερ εὔφωνον ὄντα**; supr. 206) on his rival's voice, it is obvious how much he dreaded the effect it might produce on his hearers, so susceptible of such influences.

ὡς κ.] Madv. 182: 'he very confidently relies on it also as though he can come the actor over you,' 'impose on you by his acting.' On the force of **κατά** see *n.* to 315. Comp. 18. 15 **αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται.**

ἀτοπώτατον...μὲν...δέ] 'It appears to me however that it would be an act of great absurdity on your part if when he played...you drove and hissed him off the stage...yet now when not on the stage but in public and most momentous affairs of state he has wrought infinite mischief you should pay attention to him as a fine speaker.' The sentence belongs to the class illustrated on § 132.

ἐξεβάλλετε is defined by the more precise term **ἐξεσυρίττετε**; cf. §§ 30, 90. It is often used in this way of speakers &c. Aesch. 1. 84 **ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξεβάλετε αὐτὸν ὑπολαβόντες**; Aesch. 2. 4 **αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ἐξεβάλλετε**: Dem. 9. 56. In Arist. *Eq.* 515 it is said of Magnes **οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν...ἀλλ'...ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ὤν.** The actor or poet was said **ἐκπίπτειν**: 18. 265 **ἐξέπιπτες** (Aeschines) **ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσύριττον** 'you broke

τρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστῆναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι μυρί' εἴργασται κακά, τηνικαῦθ' ὡς καλὸν φθεγγομένῳ
338 προσέχοιτε. μηδαμῶς· μηδὲν ὑμεῖς ἀβέλτερον πάθητε, ἀλλὰ λογίζεσθ' ὅτι δεῖ κήρυκα μὲν ἂν δοκιμάζητε, εὔφωνον σκοπεῖν, πρεσβευτὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιοῦντά τι πράττειν δίκαιον καὶ φρόνημ' ἔχοντ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ὑμῶν μέγα πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς ἴσον, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ Φίλιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐθαυμασα, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώ- 450
τους ἐθαύμασα, ἔσωσα, οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην. οὗτος δ' ἐκείνου

and I hissed;' Arist. *Poetic.* c. 17: c. 18: Lucian *Nigrinus* c. 8 ἤδη φαύλους ἐόρακας ὑποκριτάς, τῶν συριττομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένων.

μόνον οὐ κ.] a rhetorical climax. Cf. 18. 262 where he says that Ae. and his fellow-actors were pelted by the spectators with figs, grapes, and olives ἦν γὰρ ἀστονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφώς...

On **μυρί' εἴργασται κακά** Dobree remarks 'versus, ut opinor, erat hujusmodi in tragoedia quam infeliciter egerat Aeschines; immo forsan eum ipsum versum male recitarat ἐκεῖ δὲ Τροίᾳ μυρί' εἴργασται κακά.' But this is too ingenious. It is difficult to suppose that the veriest tritagonist could have blundered in so simple a line, or that the memory of such a thing, which after all rests on the mere assertion of his adversary, which as evidence is worthless, could have survived so long. The expression is common enough. Cf. §§ 276, 299, 314: Lys. 21. 9 πόσα τοὺς πολεμίους εἰργάσθαι κακά: Ps. D. 25. 40 τίνα γὰρ τῶν ῥητόρων οὗτος εἴργασται τι κακὸν τοσοῦτον. Eur. *Hec.* 264: Arist. *Nub.* 1264.

§ 338. **πάθητε**] 'Do not you be guilty of any folly:' § 229.

εὔφωνον σκ.] 'see that he has a good voice.' Sch. compares Soph. *Aj.* 1165 σκεῦσον κείλην κάπετόν τ' ἰδεῖν, and Theocr. 15. 2 ὄρη δίφρον, Εὐνόα, αὐτῇ 'a chair, Eunoe!' So *video* in Latin. Cic. *ad Attic.* 5. 1 antecesserat Statius ut prandium nobis videret: Ter. *Heaut.* 2. 6. 25 asperum, pater, hoc est: aliud (vinum) lenius, sodes, vide.

ἀξιοῦντα] Cf. 99: 'one who aspires to perform any public duty.'

ἴσον] i. e. δημοτικόν, in contrast with the conduct of Aeschines who, instead of showing as their representative an independent spirit, grovelled before Philip, while he was above acting as a fellow-citizen to his poor captive countrymen, as D. had done, § 170 sq. Cf. 3. 26, where it is one of the praises of the statesmen of old, who ἰδίᾳ...σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἔθει (cf. 22. 57) μένοντες, that they always τὰ...ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν, which he expresses in 23. 206 by ἰδίᾳ δ' οὐδεὶς ὑπερεῖχε τῶν πολλῶν: 51. 11 τὸ πάντας ἔχειν ἴσον καὶ δημοκρατεῖσθαι.

ἐθαύμασα] 'as for instance I did not respect Philip:' supr. 259, 261: 21. 210 μηδὲ τὸν πλοῦτον μηδὲ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων θαυμάζετε.

οὐδὲν ὑ.] 'I shrank from nothing.' 'I never flinched:' Dein. 1. 11 βουλῆς οὔτε τὴν Δημοσθένους οὔτε τὴν Δημάδου δύναμιν ὑποστειλαμένης. Οὐδὲν (μηδὲν) ὑποστειλάμενος often occurs in the sense of 'without reservation:' supr. 156, 237: 4. 51 πάνθ' ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι: and in the same sense Dein. 3. 13 ἔπειτα ὑποστείλασθαί τι δεῖ πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑμῖν...; The form προὐκυλινδεῖτο is con-

μὲν προοκυλινδεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ᾖδεν, ὑμῶν δ' ὑπερορᾷ.
339 ἔτι τοίνυν ὅταν μὲν ἴδητε δεινότητα ἢ εὐφωνίαν ἤ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ χρηστοῦ καὶ φιλοτίμου γεγενημένου ἀνθρώπου, συγχαίρειν καὶ συνασκεῖν πάντας δεῖ· κοινὸν γὰρ ὑμῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν γίγνεται· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ δωροδόκου καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ παντὸς ἥττονος λήμματος, ἀποκλείειν καὶ πικρῶς καὶ ἐναντίως ἀκούειν, ὡς πονηρία δυνάμεως δόξαν εὑρομένη παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
340 ἐστίν. ὁρᾶτε δ', ἀφ' ὧν οὗτος εὐδοκιμεῖ, πηλίκα τῇ πόλει περιέστηκε πράγματα. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπιεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀντιστῇ, διακόπτεται. οὕτως οὖν ἀκούετε τούτου ὡς πονηροῦ καὶ δωροδόκου καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐροῦντος ἀληθές.

demned by Cobet (*N. Lect.* p. 637). '.Attici enim aut *κυλίνδω* et *κυλίνδομαι* aut *καλινδοῦμαι* dixisse videntur; sequiores *κυλινδῶ* et *κυλινδοῦμαι* usurpabant.' He therefore reads *προὐκαλινδεῖτο* here and in Arist. *Av.* 501 *προκαλινδεῖσθαι τοῖς ἰκτίνοις*, and ib. 502 *ἐκαλινδούμην ἰκτινον ἰδών*, drawing the distinction between *προκυλίνδομαι* and *προκαλινδοῦμαι* 'hoc *adulantis* et *adorantis*, illud *supplicis*.' But see Veitch s.v. *κυλίνδω*.

παιᾶνας] See § 128.

§ 339. **δεινότητα**] 'Again when you see eloquence or a fine voice or any other such gift in a man of worth and public spirit.'

ἐπί] 'in the case of,' as of that on which the observation is grounded: 1. 1: Pl. *Rep.* 475 A *εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν* 'to ground upon my case...:' *Gorg.* 453 C *ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνῶν λέγομεν ὥνπερ νῦν δή* 'apply our observations to.'

συνασκεῖν] 'occasiones dando unà curare ut exerceatur magisque et magis excolatur. Opponitur *ἀποκλείειν* excludere occasionibus se exercendi' Sch. 'Encourage its display' K.

λήμματος] § 7: 'who cannot resist any offer of gain.'

δυνάμεως should not be taken with Sch. as = *δεινότητος*, but generally 'power.' Cf. *αἱ...ἄλλαι δυνάμεις* of the next section.

ἐπί...] 'is a danger to the state:' 6. 6 *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι*: ib. § 33 *ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστιν* 'that you are the objects of all.'

§ 340. **ἀφ' ὧν**] i.e. *ἀπὸ τούτων ἀφ' ὧν*; 'how great troubles have come upon the state from those powers he has got distinction by.'

περιέστηκε with the *dat.* as here in 16. 28 *τοῦ πολέμου περιεστηκότος τοῖς Θηβαίοις*, and 23. 156; with the *acc.* supr. 126, 148.

ἐπιεικῶς] 'are tolerably self-sufficient,' 'tolerably independent' of your favour and external circumstances: 1. 4.

τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] Supr. § 289: 'if met with coldness and disfavour by you the hearers it is crippled.' Plut. *Aristid.* c. 3 *πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος.* He makes a similar remark in 18. 277 *καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν.*

341 Ὅτι δ' οὐ μόνον κατὰ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον πράγματα πανταχῶς συμφέρει τοῦτον ἐαλωκέναι, θεάσασθε. εἴτε γὰρ ἥξει ποτὲ εἰς ἀνάγκην τῶν δικαίων τι ποιεῖν τῇ πόλει, τὸν τρόπον μεταθήσεται· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ᾔρηται τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῶν ὀλίγους θεραπεύειν, ἂν δὲ τούτους ἀπολωλότας πύθηται, ὑμῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ
342 πάντων κυρίοις τὰ λοιπὰ ποιεῖν βουλήσεται. εἶτ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἥσπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀσελγείας μενεῖ, τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐκείνῳ ποιήσαντας ἀνῃρηκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔσεσθε, ἂν

§§ 341—343. *Your relations to Philip make it advisable that you should condemn Aeschines. If Philip is ever brought to the necessity of doing us justice, he will change his plans and serve you when he sees that by your punishment of these men he will have no supporters among you. If he continues in his present temper, you will be in a better position by removing those who are ready to do anything for him. If you acquit Ae. and his associates you offer a premium to treason and damp the zeal and patriotism of loyal citizens. For every reason therefore condemn him and make him an example to all.*

On the supposed omission of the preposition with **τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν**, and **ἥσπερ** in the next section, see 9. 2 *note.*

τὰ πρός...] 'in regard to your relations with P.' Ps. D. 10. 55 ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ 'any of the questions between us and P.'—With what follows compare the argument in § 137 sq.

ἀνάγκην...ποιεῖν] Cf. *n.* to § 87.

ὑμῖν] 'for your advantage,' 'he will choose for the future to consult your interest.' Madv. 34. r. 1. Cf. supr. 76: Ps. D. 7. 44: 27. 37 τί σοι ποιήσωσιν οἱ μάρτυρες: 23. 107. In 9. 65 κολακείᾳ τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου, the vulg. has Φιλίππῳ.

§ 342. **ἐπὶ...μενεῖ**] 'Should he continue in the same spirit of license and overbearing insolence that animates him now:' 8. 14 μενεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν: 21. 99 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ ὄντα: 9. 61: 21. 180. ἀσέλγεια here in its usual sense of insolence or violence towards others; whence it is joined with ὕβρις (21. 1) and ὠμότης (21. 88). Cf. 4. 9: Ps. D. 10. 2 ἡ μὲν οὖν πλεονεξία καὶ ἀσέλγεια ᾗ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους χρῆται Φίλιππος, τοσαύτη τὸ πλῆθος ὅσῳ ἀκούετε.

Bekk. st. and Sh. **ἂν ποιήσαντας**, with S, L, vulg. But the same MSS. have **ποιήσαντας** in the same expression and a similar context § 80, where Vöm., who has the *fut.* here, says 'futurum male defendebat Weber ad Aristocratem § 15.' With Dind. I read the aorist here as there. Examples of **ἂν** with the future participle are common in the ordinary editions. Pl. *Apol.* c. 17 οὐκ ἂν ποιήσοντος ἄλλα: Lys. 31. 21 εὖ ᾔδεσ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτῇ τὰ δέοντα ἂν ποιήσοντα: Isocr. 6. 62 ὑπέρ γε τῆς σωτηρίας...ὁτιοῦν ἂν ποιήσοντας: Isocr. 8. 81 τὰ μὲν πικρότατα καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς λυπήσοντα παραλείψω. Xen. *Mem.* 2. 2. 3 ὡς οὐκ ἂν μείζονος κακοῦ φόβῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν παύσοντες (a Greek would surely have used the aorist, as e.g. Thuc. 3. 37 ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζοσιν οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώμην): Thuc. 5. 15 ἂν ἐνδεξομένους: Thuc. 6. 20 ἂν... προσδεξομένας (Bekk. &c. προσδεξαμένας): Thuc. 7. 67 ὡς τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ ἂν πράξοντες χείρων: (what Greek ever did or could say οὐκ ἂν πράξοιμεν τῶν παρόντων χείρων?): Dem. 9. 70 ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσων: 18. 168 ἂν...συμπνευ-

τούτους ἀνέλητε· οἳ γὰρ οἰόμενοι δίκην ὑφέξειν τοιαῦτ' ἔπραξαν, τούτους, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφεθῇ, τί οἴεσθε 451
ποιήσειν; ποῖον Εὐθυκράτη, ποῖον Λασθένη, τίν' οὐχ ὑπερ-
343 βαλεῖσθαι προδότην; τίνα δ' οὐ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων χείρω πολίτην ὑπάρξειν, ὁρῶντα τοῖς μὲν ἅπαντα πεπρακόσι χρήματα δόξαν ἀφορμὴν τὴν Φιλίππου ξενίαν περιοῦσαν, τοῖς δὲ δικαίους τε παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ προσανηλωκόσι χρήματα πράγματα ἀπεχθείας φθόνον περιόντα παρ' ἐνίων; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν οὔτε πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὑμῖν συμφέρει τοῦτον ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τιμωρησαμένους παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν.

σόντων, which is a mere barbarism. So with the opt. of the future; Lys. 1. 22 οὐδέν ἂν καταλήψοιτο (libri, Scheibe: οὐδένα Bekk. and Cobet): Isae. 1. 32 προσηπείλησεν ὅτι δηλώσοι ποτ' ἂν τούτῳ ὡς διάκειται, which is supposed to represent δηλώσω ποτ' αὐτῷ of the *or. recta:* Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 15 ἀμελεῖν δόξοιτ' ἄν, εἰ...οὗτος διαφύγοι. With the infinitive; 18. 147: 20. 35: 24. 115: 57. 19: Antiph. 6. 4 ἤλπιζον οὕτως ἂν ἄριστα πράξειν: Pl. *Crito* 53 C οὐκ οἴει ἄσχημον ἂν φανεῖσθαι: Isae. 5. 23. With the fut. indic. Antiph. 6. 10: Thuc. 2. 80: Pl. *Apol.* 29 C: *Rep.* X. 615 D: *Symp.* 222 A. In Aesch. 2. 11 Schultz has οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ μεμνήσομαι. Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 76 δικαίως ἂν αὐτόν...τιμωρήσεσθε. Dein. 1. 108 πολὺ...ἂν δικαιότερον ἐλεήσετε (Mätzner). As the fut. optative *always* represents the fut. indicative in orat. obl. after a *praeteritum* (Madv. 134 c. r. 2) or historical present, the question resolves itself into this, Can ἄν be joined with the fut. indicative in good Attic prose? I entirely agree with those who think it cannot. If it can, why does not the future form a conjunctive? Cf. Madv. 185 r.: Cobet *N. Lect.* p. 695.

ἀνηρηκότες] Cf. § 2.

τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] §§ 54, 340: 'if they have liberty from you:' 'if they have your license for their acts.' K.

τί οἴεσθε] Cf. 9. 35.

ποῖον...τίν'] Supr. § 79, 282 *note.*

§ 343. **τίνα δ' οὐ**] 'And which of all the rest do you think will not become less loyal to the state when he sees that those who have sold everything get money, reputation, and a capital in Philip's friendship?' Cf. Lys. 20. 32 τίς γὰρ ἔτι θελήσει χρηστὸς εἶναι, εἰ ἡττηθήσονται τῶν κακῶς ὑμᾶς ποιούντων οἱ εὖ ποιοῦντες;

προσανηλωκόσι] §§ 169, 230.

παράδειγμα] The educating effect of the punishment of offenders is often insisted on (22. 68 παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅ' ὦσι μετριώτεροι; supr. 285: Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 10 δύο γάρ ἐστι τὰ παιδεύοντα τοὺς νέους, ἥ τε τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμωρία καὶ ἡ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διδομένη δωρεά; ib. 67: Aesch. 3. 246 sq.: Dem. 21. 37 and 237: 22. 7); especially of great offenders, Dein. 1. 27: while the acquittal of such encouraged the evil-minded by suggesting the hope of impunity; Lys. 22. 19 πεύσονται ἥντινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχετε, ἡγούμενοι ἂν μὲν θάνατον αὐτῶν καταγνῶτε, κοσμιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς λοιπούς· ἂν δ' ἀζημίους ἀφῆτε, πολλὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφισμένοι ἔσεσθε ποιεῖν ὅ,τι ἂν βούλωνται; Dem. 51. 12 πάντες ὑμεῖς φήσετε τὸ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράως ἔχειν προδιδάσκειν ἑτέρους ἀδίκους εἶναι. Cf. Cornificius *ad Herenn.* 2. § 48.

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